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THE

ANCIENT CATHEDRAL

OF

CORNWALL

HISTORICALLY SURVEYED.

By JOHN WHITAKER, B. D.
RECTOR OF RUAN-LANYHORNE, CORNWALL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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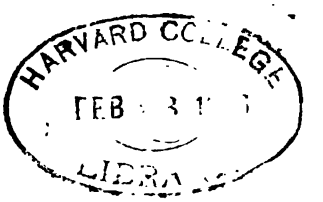

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THE

ANCIENT CATHEDRAL

OF

CORNWALL

HISTORICALLY SURVEYED.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

SECTION I.

Saints from Ireland in the fifth century.

I HAVE now brushed away those grains of dust in the telescope, which prevented Dr. Borlase from beholding the bright constellation of stars, that was darting its united effusion of radiance upon the Christianity of Cornwall. I have pointed out the stars by name to my readers, and entered them in form upon my catalogue. Yet I have not named all: others remain, provoking my attention, and challenging my admiration. To some of these I now direct my telescope; antiquarianism, like astronomy, continually opening a new world upon the eye, and so carrying on the range of vision to the very extremity of the system.

"The paroch chirch," says Leland, concerning St. Ives, at the mouth of the very same current of the Hayle, within which Breaca landed; and, with a reference to one of the very same company of Irish saints that attended Breaca, "is of Iă, a nobleman's daughter of Ireland, and "disciple of S. Barricius," the companion of St. Patrick *. "Iă and "Elwine," the very person that we have seen mentioned in the chapter immediately preceding, as one of Breaca's companions, "with *many* "*others*," as we have already seen, "came into Cornewaul and landed S. Ia.

* Leland's Itin. iii, 15: "'Barricius socius Patritii,' ut legitur in Vitâ S. Wymeri."

"at Pendinas. This Pendinas is the peninsula and stony rok, wher "now the toun of S. Iës (or St. Ives) standith †." The company of Breaca thus appears to have been embarked in two vessels, and to have entered the Hayle in the night, as I have previously supposed, unseen by each other. One, therefore, having Breaca herself on board, pushed ashore at Rivier, on its *eastern* bank; and the other, having St. Iä, put to land at the present site of St. Ives, on its *western*, a site then a "stony rok" merely, and a "peninsula" denominated "Pendinas." But "one Dinan, a "great lord in Cornewaul, MADE A CHIRCH at Pendinas, AT THE REQUEST "of Iä, as it is written in St. Ië's Legende *," in the history drawn up at or near the time of her death, preserved with religious fidelity at the church erected upon her solicitation, and read with devout attention in that church, during the offices of religion, on the day of her death every year ‡. The Hayle of St. Ives was equally with the Alan of Padstow then, a commodious port of passage from Ireland into Cornwall; but had no town at the mouth of it, as the Alan had, and was therefore entered by this company of high rank and fortune, we may be sure, against their intentions, which must have pointed to Padstow, even merely in their eagerness to reach the land, when they had been driven from their destination. Breaca and her party found Theodore the king of Cornwall, residing in his palace of Rivier, where they landed, and living in the profession of Christianity; while Iä and her party equally found one Dinan, a great lord of the country, inhabiting his house near the ground on which they landed, and equally living in the same profession. *Those* were permitted by Theodore to fix upon any sites in his kingdom for their habitations, and therefore penetrated

† *Pen-dinas* signifies literally Hill-head, and was therefore a very common appellation for places in Cornwall. Thus "the very point of the haven mouth," at Falmouth, "being an "hille, whereon the king hath buildid a castel, is caullid *Pendinant*." (Itin. iii. 26.) —"The king hath set his castel on *Pendinas*—*Pendinas* almost an isle." (Ibid. ibid.) "The point of land betwixt S. Just creke and S. Maws," and nearly opposite to the other, which is still so denominated, "is of sum caullid *Pendinas*." (Ibid. 29.)

* Leland's Itin. iii. 21, 22.

‡ Hence comes the name *legenda* or *legend*, by the Protestant interpretation of these histories having now lost its original meaning, and come to signify merely a lying story.

deeply

deeply into it, with Elwine ‡. While *these* settled with Iä about the new chapel, erected for them in the old parish of Lanant, and Pendinas rose into a town under her chapel's appellation of St. Iës §.

But we can lengthen out this list of saints. With Iä came her two brothers, brothers equally in nature and in affection, brothers in a high relish for religion, in a tender love for sequestration, in a fond feeling of devoutness. "Saint *Hya*, that is, Saint *Hy*," as her name is now varied a little by another author, "lies a virgin in the parish church of

‡ Leland's Itin. iii. 15, 16: "'Breaca ædificavit eccl. in Trenewith et Talmeneth,' ut "legitur in Vitâ *S. Elwini*," who must therefore have accompanied her.

§ The real name of the town, even as *written* in the days of Leland, is St. Iës; though by an English assimilation of the name to that of the town in Huntingdonshire, which is denominated from St. Ivo, a Persian (Leland's Itin. iv. 159—161), it is equally denominated St. Ives at present. The hill of Pendinas, at *our* St. Ives, is still called Dinas or Dennis, but with an addition from the Saint, *Dennis Eia*; while the residence of Dinan assuredly was that very house in the vicinity of St. Ives, which is traditionally denominated a *castle* to this day; and from its other denomination of *Tregenna* (in English, *moor-house*), gave name to the family more recently resident within it, even existing there to the days of the first James; and in a younger branch, probably existing at Mawgan, near St. Columb, within these few years. Norden's map of Penwith hundred notices *Tregenino*, "*M. Tregenno*;" Norden's Description, p. 42, "*Tregenno*—the howse of Mr. *Tregennor*;" map of Pyder hundred, for the parish of Mawgan, "*Polgreen*, Jo. *Tregenna*;" Description, p. 68, "*Polgreene*—the howse of John *Tregenno*, situate upon the north sea;" and in p. 103, in "a Catalogue of Gentlemen and of their Dwellinges," are "Tregenno at Tregenno," with "Tregenno, John, at Polgreene." Walker, in his Sufferings of the Clergy, 423, remarks, "*Tregenna*, John; he succeeded Mr. Gammon," the last of three rectors whom tradition recognises as Ham, Gammon, and Bacon, "in the rectory of Mawgan, which he made a "shift to keep, but with great trouble and difficulty," till 1660-1, "and died possessed of it "in the year 1683; he was a person of good learning, eminent piety, and sweetness of "conversation." He was succeeded in the living by his son, and the latter again by *his* son, all equally *John* Tregenna, with Norden's proprietor of *Polgreen*, and all equally proprietors of *Polgreen* with him. The *name* of the family ended in 1754, the last rector leaving only daughters. All this would have appeared more authoritatively, as well as more circumstantially detailed, I presume, if the late Mr. Tregenna one day, on his maiden aunt's production of the family genealogy to him, had not snatched it from her in a paroxysm of indignation, that might seem to him a dignified superiority to family pride, yet was really (I fear) a sacrifice on the altar of personal vanity, and thrust it hastily into the fire.

" the town of Saint *Hy*, upon the northern sea, about twelve miles " from the farthest end of the western kingdom of England; and " her day is observed on the third of February *," as it still is on the Sunday next after the morrow of the Purification. She " was the " sister of Saint Herygh, and the sister of Saint Vuy †." At a very little distance from her, both these brothers took up their residence. S. Herygh. One of them, " SAINT HERYGH," resided apparently in that adjoining parish of *Erghe;* which, in the ignorance of the English about our saints, and concerning our pronunciation, has had its name anglicised into *Erth*, and was then supposed to have been dedicated to an unknown saint of this name, *plainly* one of English origin; but is apparently denominated from this brother to St. Iä, " whose day is observed " on the vigil of All Saints, that is, on the last day of October," as it still is at St. Erth's on the Sunday nearest to the festival of All Saints. The other brother, " Saint *Vuy*, the brother of Saint Herygh ‡," was actually S. Uny. denominated Saint VNY in pronunciation, and is mis-written *Vuy* only from an accidental viciousness of reading, that had no pronunciation to correct it; but settled himself in his devout retirement at the neighbouring parish of *Uny* Lanant, or Lalant, because " he lies in the parochial " church of St. Vuy [Vny], *near the village of Lalant*, upon *the northern* " *sea*, three miles *from Mount St. Michael*, where his feast is kept on " the first day of February §," as it still is on the Sunday next to the eve

* Iuneraria—W[i] Worcester, p. 106: " Sancta Hya, id est, Seynt Hy,—jacet in ecclesiâ " parochiali villæ Seynt Hy, super mare boreale circa 12 miliaria ab ultimo fine occidentalis " regni Angliæ; et ejus dies agitur tertio die Februarii."

† Ibid. ibid. " Sancta Hya,—soror Sancti Herygh, et soror Sancti Vuy."

‡ Ibid. ibid. " Sanctus Herygh, frater Sancti Vuy,—jacet in quâdam ecclesiâ," &c. " Ejus dies agitur in vigiliâ omnium Sanctorum, id est ultimo die Octobris." The name of *Erghe* had been so long anglicised into *Erth*, in Leland's time, that he repeatedly speaks of *Saint Erth* in Itin. iii. 20, and that if the second Valor had not caught the original name, it would have been for ever lost; the first noticing it by its secular name of *Lankudnou*, Lan Udnow, or the Church upon Udnow, a manor (I suppose) so called, to which the name of Udnow Parva, now Piran Uthnoe, apparently referred, and refers back.

§ Ibid. ibid. " Sanctus Vuy, frater Sancti Herygh, jacet in ecclesiâ parochiali Sancti " Vuy propè villam Lalant, super mare boreale, per tria miliaria de Mont-Myghell; ejus " dies agitur die primo Februarii."

of

of the Purification. Thus did the two brothers, with a steady flame of affection, that throws a blaze round the heads of all, unite with their sister in life, and hardly divide from her even in death; taking their course with her from Ireland, fixing with her in Cornwall, fixing in her very vicinity for life, and then lying down in her very vicinity at death.

Yet with these saints, both of them equally with their sister unknown to Dr. Borlase, plainly landed another, who is actually mentioned by the Doctor, the period of whose coming is also conjectured by the Doctor to have been about the year 400, and the varied orthography of whose name has caused him to be split by the Doctor into two*. S. Piran.
"PIRAN," notes Leland, from an ancient life of the Saint, in his very useful mode of extracting the biography of saints, "who is called also Pieran "and Kyeran, was born in *Ireland*, within the province of Ostrige; "Domuel was the father of Piran, his mother was called Wingela; Piran "was *the disciple of St. Patrick.* Piran *came into Britain;* Piran *died* "and *was buried* in *Britain;* Wingela, the mother of Piran, inhabited "in *a place near her son with holy virgins*†." The notes of Piran's birth in Ireland, of his discipleship to St. Patrick there, of his coming into Britain, dying in Britain, and being buried in Britain; all unite to identify his person, to ascertain his chronology, and to fix him with the company of St. Breaca, before in the region of Cornwall. He was indeed, like Barricius and Sinninus before, the companion of St. Patrick. He was even more than this, being one of four clergymen that preached the Gospel in Ireland prior to St. Patrick. A native of Ireland, born about the year 352, of noble parents, in the region of Ossory, and bred up in the islet that gives denomination to Cape Clear; he became a Christian in heart and mind, from the conversation of some laical Christian there; went therefore to Rome, was there initiated into Christianity by baptism, and spent twenty years there, studying the

* Borlase, 369 and 388.

† Leland's Itin. iii. 195: "Ex vitâ Pirani. 'Piranus, qui et Pieranus et Kyeranus, de "Hibernià oriundus in provinc. Ostrige. Domuel pater Pirani, mater ejus Wingela "dicta. Piranus discipulus S. Patritii. Piranus venit in Britann. Piranus obiit et sepultus est "in Britanniâ. Wingela, mater Pirani, in loco propè filium cum sanctis virginibus "habitabat'."

Scriptures,

Scriptures, collecting copies of them, or preparing himself for orders. Being ordained, and even raised to the highest rank in orders, the episcopate, he returned into Ireland about 402, to convert his countrymen. He converted his mother (his father, I suppose, being now dead), his immediate countrymen of Ossory, and a number of others; thus becoming the first in time, of all the apostles of Ireland *. Having now triumphed in that greatest of *external* acts of goodness, the conversion of many to religion and to God; he did what was still greater, he triumphed *internally* over himself. And as we are told by an ancient biographer of another of the four preachers, antecedent to St. Patrick, while this preacher and two of the rest refused, "*Chiaran* shewed all "concord and subjection and discipleship to St. Patrick, present or "absent †." Hence he came to be denominated by his own biographer in Leland, "Piran the *disciple* of St. Patrick." He then appears to have retired into that solitude, which is so congenial to the feelings of devoutness in general, and seems to have been so peculiarly soothing to the hearts of all these sainted personages; living in a small cell by a fountain, as a hermit, within an extensive forest of Leinster, at a place

* Usher, 410: "In Vitâ ipsius quam MS. habeo:—'Pater ejus—erat de nobilioribus "gentis Osraigi—; conceptus est—Kiaranus, natusque, et nutritus est—in Clerâ insulâ.' "—Circa annum CCCLII. natus est Kiaranus." P. 412: "'Triginta annis S. Kiaranus "—in Hibernià habitavit sine baptismo—sed—audiens famam Christianæ religionis in urbe "Romæ esse,—adivit Romam; perveniensque illuc, baptizatus est et doctus in fide Catholicâ, "ibique viginti annis mansit, legens Divinas Scripturas, librosque earum colligens.'—"Anno CCCLXXXII. Romam adiisse, et CCCCII. in patriam rediisse, Kiaranum com-"periemus." P. 413, 414: "Ipsum vero Kiaranum collecta, quæ in officio ejus olim "legebatur, ita celebrat, 'Deus, qui B. Kiranum seniorem, confessorem tuum atque pon-"tificem, *ante alios sanctos* in Hiberniæ insulam misisti'," &c. "Indeque jam dictus "biographus 'Hiberniæ sanctorum primogenitum' illum appellat; tum præterea addens, "non modo,—eum matrem 'fidelem Christianam—effecisse,' sed etiam, 'suum gen-"tem, id est Osraigi, et plurimos alios de errore gentilitatis ad Christi fidem convertisse'." P. 408: "In Vitâ Declani legimus: 'Quatuor sanctissimi episcopi cum suis discipulis "fuerunt in Hibernià ante Patricium, prædicantes in eâ Christum, sc. Ailbeus, Declanus, "Ibarus, et Kiaranus'."

† Usher, 418: "Chiaranus enim omnem concordiam et subjectionem et magisterium "dedit S. Patritio, ipso præsente et absente." From the uncertain writer of the life of Declan, one of the four, the other two being Albeus and Ibarus.

denominated "Sier *Keran*" from him*. Here his *Irish* biographer states him to have died; but his *British* asserts, and the tradition of Cornwall decisively confirms, that he removed into this region of Britain †. His cell in Ireland grew into a monastery, the monastery expanded into a city ‡, and the solitude of the hermit was invaded from mere reverence by the world. To escape from the officious intrusion, and to preclude the possibility of repeating it, Piran transported himself over into Cornwall; and came undoubtedly with that Breaca, that Simninus, that Germochus, Iä, as well as many others, who landed at Rivier, or at St. Ives, but who thence dispersed themselves over the country.

Piran went to the east, as Helen went, while Iä staid at Pendinas on the west, and there settled in a solitude that soon assumed his appellation. "*S. Piranes* in the sandes," says Leland, "is an xviii. miles from "S. Iës upward on Severne §."—"Here," adds Camden, "is a chapel "erected in the sands to *St. Piran*, a saint *even of Ireland*, who *rests* "*at this place* ‖." The tradition of the place also reports, that he was forced to float over *from Ireland to it* upon a millstone; just as another tradition at another place avers St. Petrock to have floated over to Padstow upon an altar ¶. The inhabitants of the parish are almost all

* Usher, 413.

† That Leland's biographer was of Britain, these words evince: "Piranus *venit* in "Britanniâ."

‡ Usher, 413, from Irish biographer: "'De vili materiâ cellulam suam incepit; et inde "monasterium, et postea civitas, crevit'."

§ Leland's Itin. iii. 22.

‖ Camden, 140: "*In sabulo* positum S. Pirano sacellum, qui Sanctus etiam Hibernicus "hic requiescit." Hence Piran church is called in the Valor of Henry VIII. "Piran *in* "*Zabulo*;" and in popular usage, "Piran-*Zabulo*." The *Cornish* name is "Pieran in "*Tveth*;" Piran on Sand, in the old writing relative to estates (Tonkin's MS. described in the next note); and the parish is therefore said by Norden, 68, with a slight erroneousness, to be called in the Cornish language *Peran Kreth*, for "Peran Treth."

¶ From a MS. Parochial History of Cornwall, by the late Thomas Tonkin, Esq. of Trevawnance, in St. Agnes, of which a fragment was luckily rescued from immediate ruin by the Rev. Mr. Pye, rector of Truro. I have a copy of this fragment, and have written notes upon it.

tinners:

tinners: that vast mass of earth, clay, sand, stones, and rock, which spires up in a pyramid, about eighty acres in circumference, and at least ninety fathoms above the sea-level, under the appellation of *Saint Agnes Bal*, out of which has been raised, for perhaps two hundred years back, the worth of above ten thousand pounds in tin every year §, being within the precincts of the parish, and therefore fixing a large number of tinners within it. These parishioners of St. Piran have given the tone to all the tinners of the county, and exalted St. Piran into the patronage of them all. They all keep his feast upon the fifth of March, hold a fair near his church upon the same day, and have, near the road to Mitchell from the west, at the distance of two or three miles from the church, an arched fountain, denominated *Fenton Berran* lately, but *Piran Well* now; the very well, undoubtedly, by which he fixed his hermitage, and from which he drew his beverage *. "The tinners also "hold St. Piran's day," notes Dr. Borlase in his Natural History; "cease "from all labour" on the day, "and (in all considerable mines) are "allowed money to make merry withal, in honour of St. Piran, who is "*recorded* to *have given* them *some very profitable informations* relating "to *the tin manufacture* †." This oral record the Doctor repeats without reprehension, without suspicion; thus concurs with the tinners in the folly and falsehood of their zeal, by attributing to St. Piran informations that could never have been given by him, by even moulding their holy hermit into a scientific miner. But these votaries of St. Piran have lent at times a contrary direction to their fancy-formed registers; with the stupidity of drunken tinners in their prate, have shaped their saint agreeably to their own *practices;* and transformed that holy hermit, that venerable bishop, that primary apostle of Ireland, into a wretched drunkard like themselves: nay, this very sottishness of ebriety, like the falsehood of folly above, has made its way to the pen of authors as

§ Halsp. 3.

* Tonkin's MS.; another MS. of his lent me by a descendant, Mr. Jago, of St. Erme; and the great map of Cornwall.

† Borlase, 302.

weak

weak or as vicious as they, and polluted the page of literature with its black current ‡.

Near him settled his mother Wingel, with a society of nuns which she had brought with her; as she had previously settled in a solitary cell near him, within the isle of Ireland *. *Where* she now settled in Cornwall, I am tempted by my curiosity to conjecture, and I am urged by my subject to conclude. The site can be at no very great distance from Piran. A nunnery must be known from tradition, from records, or from ruins, to have formerly existed there; then, any remains of the name of *Wingel*, however modified by the mouths of ages, would be a strong confirmation of the whole. And all these circumstances actually unite in Lanivet, a parish about twenty miles from Piran, well known in Cornwall to have once had a nunnery, even shewing the remains of it at this day, and knowing what I take to have been the original site of it, since translated to St. Bennet's, about a mile and a half on the west, by the appellation of *Saint Gunger* for *Saint Gangel* at this day †.

Wingela.

no. J. Cosme.

But

‡ In Tonkin's MS. lent me by Mr. Jago, Vertot is cited as concurring with Tonkin in adopting the drunken reveries of tinners, mediately or immediately, for real facts; but enlarging their absurdity, by making *him* a Bretoon who was a native of Ireland, and fixing *him* in Bretagné, who removed only into Cornwall, just as the Bretoon legends have done with other saints of Cornwall. (Lobineau, i. 9.) So much are historians like drunkards at times in their accounts of characters, especially when they want to throw a shade of slander over men illustriously religious!

* Usher, 413, 414: "Addens—eum matrem *fidelem Christianam et sanctam Dei famulam effecisse*, cellâ quidem in propinquo loco ædificatâ."

† Tanner says only thus: "ii. St. Bennet's, in the parish of Lanivet, nunnery. The "tower whereof is yet standing (Tonkin, *quære*)." The tower *is* standing still, two stories high, having a gateway pretty entire, a flight of winding stairs of stone in an angle of this to a chamber once floored over it, and below in the walls of the tower itself niches horizontal or perpendicular; a single moor-stone hollowed out for a tombstone, forming the bed of *those*, and *these* calculated to receive a statue each. There is good reason to suppose that the chapel was standing about the middle of the last century: a fine cloyster certainly extended a few feet from the eastern end of it, ranged north and south, had six windows probably in it, and ended on the north in a small cell, remarkable for two large windows,

But so brightly did the reputation of St. Piran break out from the darkness of his hermitage at Fenton-Berran, and in such a broad flash of lustre did it lighten over all Cornwall, that a parish far removed to the south-west has been long dedicated to him, and is called Piran Uthno, or Little Piran, at this day; that another parish to the south-west, though not so remote, equally adopted his name many ages ago, as I shall instantly shew; and that a chapelry in the parish of Stythian's is now called Piran Arwothal, or Piran Well, the latter name being derived from "a strong chalybeate spring, much frequented of late "years *."

We have thus seen the saint denominated Kiaran or Keran in Ireland, Berran or Piran in Cornwall; just as *Ceann* (I.), a head, is *Ben*, in Ben Lomond, a mountain of Scotland; and *Pen*, in Penmanmaur, a mountain of Wales. Yet Dr. Borlase would gladly make Piran different from Kiaran, because a manuscript in Usher's possession states the father and mother of Kiaran to be Lugneus and Liadain, "whereas Piranus was— "son of Domuel and Wingella †." That very manuscript, however, is cited by Usher himself to mean Piran under the name of Kiaran; and the difference in the names of his parents is noted by Usher as a variation in one of his biographers from the other, the writer of Usher's

taken down about twenty-four years ago, and formed of flints, moor-stone rubbish, and lime, in a caissoon of large, well-cut moor-stone. They were taken, as other parts of the whole had been before, to build houses or rooms on the owner's lands adjoining. A small bathing-place, with steps descending to it, is all that remains at present besides the tower and its gateway. The architecture of all was handsome, but the extent seems to have been very small, as the site was very confined. It was retired, under a projecting knoll, with a few acres of cultivated land, and a copse of eleven about it, yet not visible from any road adjoining. The parishioners or the owner knew nothing of the founder (from the information of the Rev. Mr. Lake, the obliging rector of the parish); they may therefore be well excused for knowing nothing about St. Gunger, the *prior* site (as I suppose) of this nunnery, and echoing still in its name, with a faint tone, the appellation of the original founder of both. When the post-diluvian history of man is so little known, we can wonder the less at the ante-diluvian being so nearly a blank.

* Tonkin's MS.

† Borlase, 388.

manuscript

manuscript from Tinmouth †. But as the names in Tinmouth now appear to be right; from the Life of Piran which I have quoted above, those in Usher's manuscript must consequently be pronounced either false in themselves or additional to the others: that Life also proves the propriety of Usher's considering Kiaran and Piran to be the same personage. "Extracts from the Life of Piran," says Leland: "'*Piran*, "who is *the same* with Pieran and *Kyeran*, was a native of Ire- "land ‡'." Leland, therefore, did not call the parish-church of St. Keveryn, a little to the south-west of Falmouth, that "of St. "Keveryn, *alias of Piranus* §," on the mere authority of Tinmouth, as Dr. Borlase supposes ‖. Leland had much better, we see; and it does honour to the sagacity of Tinmouth that he has been as accurate as Leland in his researches. This church, too, is denominated in the Valor of Henry VIII. "*Keyran*, alias St. Keverne;" and in that of Pope Nicholas, "Ecclesia Sancti *Keyrani*," or "*Kiorani*." Yet "St. Keveryn and St. Piran," remarks the Doctor with an air of confidence that is suggested solely by his ignorance of these testimonies, and that soars, like the hooded hawk, from the mere inspiration of blindness; "were *certainly* different persons *." What then is the ground of this certainty, in opposition to such positive evidence? It contradicts not the evidence, but flies to that problematical kind of reasoning which is always the refuge of imbecility and confusion. "Doomsday says," he tells us from Tanner, "'the canons of St. "*Pieran*'" (so exact is Leland's biographer of Piran in reciting a name that under this form occurs only in Doomsday Book and in him!) "'held Lan Piran'," that is, some lands which, from "their belong- "ing to a church of that saint, had the name of Lan Piran," but now are called the church-lands of St. Piran ¶; "and at Piran *Sanz*," which

S. Piran and S. Kevern, the same person.

† Usher, 410.

‡ Leland's Itin. iii. 195: "Ex Vitâ Pirani; 'Piranus, qui et Pieranus et Kyeranus, de "Hibernia oriundus'."

§ Leland's Itin. iii. 24: "S. Piranes, alias Kenerine," or "Keverine," as afterwards.

‖ Borlase, 388.

* Ibid. Ibid.

¶ Tonkin's MS.

a note justly asserts to mean *Saint* Piran, "the bishops of Bodmin had "a manor called Lan Piran," the present manor of St. Piran, and close adjoining to the church-lands, "now almost entirely overrun with "sands *." Yet where is the force and power of this argument? It *was* to prove, that St. Piran and St. Keveryn were *certainly* different persons. But does it prove the point *certainly*? Does it prove the point *probably*? Does it prove in *any* degree of even *seeming* probability? It does not in *any* degree; it shews only the canons of St. Pieran to have had some lands at Piran; and it intimates only the *bishops of Bodmin*, by whom it means merely the *bishop and chapter of Exeter*, to whom the church was given by one of our kings †, to have had other lands at Piran. But what is either, or what are both, to the design and destination of the argument? How do either or both prove a personal difference betwixt the saints Keveryn and Piran? The mathematical axiom that take equals from equals and equals remain, proves the point just as much. Yet "we have at present," subjoins Dr. Borlase in a continuation of the train of reasoning, "three parochial churches dedicated to "him [Piran], and two of them are at present in the patronage of the "*church of Exeter*: but St. Keveryn does not *appear* to have had any "connexion with the *bishop of Exeter* any otherwise than as its diocesan; "the patronage is in lay hands ‡." In such hands, however, the patronage has been only *since the Reformation*, and *previously was not*, as it then belonged, with the college or monastery here, to Beaulieu abbey in Hampshire §: so defective is the reasoning at the very close! On the whole, then, the argument suggests not the slightest difference between the *saints*, and speaks only of a minute, incidental, extraneous difference between the *churches*. The patronage of St. Kevern, it seems, does not belong to the church of Exeter, as that of Piran in the Sands, and that of Piran Uthnoe does; and *therefore*—as the argument wishes to conclude, but presumes not to infer—*therefore* St. Keveryn is a different

* Tonkin, a parishioner, said long before, but with an evident exaggeration, "now "wholly destroyed by the sands."

† Tanner.

‡ Borlase, 388.

§ Tanner.

Saint

Saint from St. Piran. Such is the logic of this extraordinary passage! But what is still more extraordinary, the fidelity of it is as bad as the logic; the patronage of Piran Uthnoe being equally in lay hands with that of St. Kevern; and the argument, therefore, if it was not as powerless as it is false, turning against the identity of *this* St. Piran with the other. Yet what is still more than all, the very patronage of Piran itself was not in the hands of either the bishop or the church of Exeter *till the Conquest*, till even *the reign of Henry I.* after it, when *he* granted the college at Piran to them, as being then in *his* patronage, when they only succeeded to *his* in consequence of the grant, and are now patrons of the vicarage *from it* *. So thoroughly has Dr. Borlase lost himself in the labyrinth of his own reasonings, his clue being very short, his path very long, his resolution to push on very eager, and his quickness to catch the turns very blunt. Piran *was* the same with Kiaran, Keyran, or Keveryn, the first of the converters of Ireland, prior to Patrick in time, but condescending to rank as second in dignity, and the glorious hermit of Cornwall, who came into Cornwall for the sake of sequestration in a hermitage, not indeed so early as about the year 400, only as early as about 460—another proof additional to the many before in his and Breaca's companions, of the prevalence of Christianity in the country †.

With

* Tanner.

† "Here," cries Dr. Borlase, 388, concerning St. Kevern, in a conjecture which I am happy to applaud after so much reprobation of him, "seems to me to have been a distinct "religious house, with lands called Lanachebran, which we find mentioned [in Doomsday "Book] as one of our religious houses in Cornwall, but have not known hitherto where to "fix it. 'There was a society of secular canons in a place of this name, at or about the "Conquest, dedicated to Saint Achebrann'." This is said from Tanner; but let us see Doomsday Book itself: "Canonici Sancti Achebranni tenent Lannachebran, et tenebant "tempore regis Edwardi." Yet, as Dr. Borlase goes on, "now this Saint Achebran is "not to be found in Cornwall; but St. Chebran there is, commonly called Kevran, the "same, doubtless, as called Kiaranus, now called St. Keveryn, in the hundred of Kerrier." For "the letter A before Chebran, whereby they make a Saint Achebran, is no more than "a preposition in the Cornish language, signifying of, prefixed to the Saint Chebran or "Kevran." In the text of the new edition of Tanner, we accordingly read of "Lanache-"bran, or Lan-a-Kebran, alias St. Kevran, in the deanery of Kerrier, Cistercian cell," where

With him and with the others came also, I believe, FINGAR, and PIALA, and BUDOC, and BURIEN, and CARANTOC; who complete my catalogue of Irish saints, and close my account of Breaca's companions. Our notices concerning all, however, are very short, little more than sufficient to link them into the great chain that came charged with such a quantity of electrical fire from Heaven, and that dispensed it in such pleasing effusions of light, through a country fully prepared by her own Christianity to retain as well as to receive it.

where was a "society," &c.; and in a note we are told, that "in the former edition this "church [of St. Kevran] was confounded with that of St. Pieran [in the Sands];" that "the late learned prelate Dr. Charles Littleton, bishop of Carlisle," from some communications, probably of Dr. Borlase's, "informed Dr. Tanner of the mistake; and" that "the "account of both churches, inserted in this edition, are [is] agreeable to the information "communicated by him," bishop Littleton; and I cordially unite with all in embracing the opinion. The want of a parish for the Lanmachebran of Doomsday Book, and the want of notice in Doomsday Book for the parish of St. Kevern, unite to shew the one is omitted because the other is mentioned, and the one is mentioned under the name of the other. In the next record too that we have of our churches in Cornwall, the Valor of Pope Nicholas, we find the scene regularly reversed—St. Kevern noticed, and Lannachebran omitted.

"Several considerable ruins are still to be seen," adds Dr. Borlase, "about a quarter of "a mile from the church of St. Kevern, at a place called Tregonin, where there is a tradi-"tion among the neighbours," still existing, "that formerly there stood a priory; and a "part of these ruins is still called the chapel." The ruins are gone, but the site is known, and bones have been found in digging at a little distance. "This likely was the house, and "St. Kevern the collegiate church, of these secular canons:" the church being a fine old building, very long, very broad, with a nave and two ailes, the marks of its once collegiate dignity. "These secular canons," the Doctor should also have noticed, had been changed into monks long before the Reformation; the monks had even deserted the house before it, and even then the whole building was in ruins. This appears from a passage in Leland's Itinerary, which the Doctor has carelessly overlooked, though it follows immediately after the mention of "St. Keveryn, otherwise Piranus." For he says "ther *is* a sanctuary, "with x or xii dwelling howses," the present *church-town* of St. Kevern; "and therby "*was* a sel of monkes, *but now goon home to ther hed hows.* The *ruines* of the monastery "yet *remenith.*" Even Tanner had told him, that after the Conquest "there was a cell "of Cistertian monks, subordinate to Beaulieu abbey, in Hampshire; and the manor "here," the very Lannachebran of Doomsday Book, "as parcel of the possessions of "Beaulieu, was granted 2 Eliz. to Francis earl of Bedford."

FINGAR

FINGAR or Guigner is noticed by Anselm before, catching the sunbeams of history from the mirror of tradition, catching them much distorted and discoloured, yet still catching them, as landed about the year 460, with a large company of Christians from the shores of Ireland, at the mouth of the Hayle. The position of the parish denominated Gwinear at present from him, St. Wynyar, St. Wyner, or St. Gwyner in the last Valor, and St. Wyner in the first, answers very singularly to this descent of sainted persons upon our shores: it lies immediately contiguous to the ancient and present Rivier. He took up his residence at it, as Iä did at Pendinas; and therefore lent his appellation to *that*, as she lent hers to *this*.

S. Fingar, the same as Gwinear.

But what became of "his sister PIALA?" To ascertain the point we must take a large range in local intelligence, and move in a kind of cometary orbit to our *focus*, collecting and diffusing light as we sweep along.

S. Piala, the same as Philley and Phillack.

In all countries the vallies have been inhabited before the hills, as enriched by the washings of soil from the sides, and as lying more sheltered from the stroke of the winds. In Cornwall they would be peculiarly so, as the land is exposed by its position to peculiar violence of wind, and as the old houses, in consequence of that, are almost all in the bottoms. Thus the parishes of Veryan and Ruan Lanyhorne, each of which has its church in a valley, would there be inhabited before the high grounds to the west of them; those parishes naturally spread up the hills about them, but kept the low lands near their houses for corn and hay grounds, and used the distant grounds above for sheep-walks. At the top of those hills actually lay a large range of land adjoining to the two parishes upon their western side, but bounded by the Fal and the Channel on the other side. These hills reared their heads for ages in one extensive heath, belonging assuredly to both; the northern part to Ruan Lanyhorne, and the southern to Veryan; and they were naturally denominated *Rôs*, the mountain or the heath; and were as naturally denominated when the English came to settle among us.

Roseland.

us in 986, ROSE-LAND; nor are we here deceiving ourselves, as critics often are, in playing with the meteors of etymology. Fact comes in to raise surmise into certainty. Hence only could have originated that traditionary fondness, which is still so predominant in the region, for Roseland mutton in preference to all other. The first parish probably that was formed upon this *Rós*, or sheep-walk, was one, which therefore took the appellation of it, is denominated *Eglos-rós*, or Heath Church, in the first Valor, and has an estate of the same appellation, lying close to the church at present. Thus, in the third of Henry IV. we find the heir of one Joceus Dynnan possessed of a fee in Trelewith and *Eglos-ros* *. And what shews the new parish to have been formed out of Ruan Lanyhorne, as the old, there are two fields titheable in common betwixt them; the Higher Congier paying two sheaves to the old and one to the new, while the Lower Congier pays sheaf for sheaf to both. Hence we may learn to wonder at the folly of *foreigners*, who have turned the name of *Roseland* into a compliment to the soil, have honoured the mountain above the valley, for fruitfulness, and interpreted a mere range of heath into a garden of roses. Hence too we may learn to smile at the equal folly of the *inhabitants*, who still pretend to fancy the *Roseland* mutton, just as the people of Bristol do the Welsh; so continue the language, which was used when *that* mutton was fed, like *this*, upon the heathy mountain; yet still affect to continue it, when the mountain is enclosed like the valley, and the heath is formed into rich pastures †. The northern point of the heath being thus graced with a church, and the adjoining parts of the heath being thus moulded into a district by themselves, a chapelry first, and a parish

* Carew, 44: "Hæres Jocei Dynnan ten. in Eglosroset (Eglos-ros), ac in Trelewith, "1 feod."

† "Their sheep thrive exceedingly," notes Borlase, 82, concerning the Sylley isles, "the grass on the *commons* being short and dry, and full of the same *little snail, which "gives so good a relish to the* Sennan *and* Phillac *mutton in the west of Cornwall.*" The same snail probably abounded on the Rôs, or heath, as it still abounds in some fields of the parsonage at Ruan Lanyhorne; but is generally destroyed by cultivation of the land, though now and then it escapes destruction; upon one field it abounds so much, in spite of all cultivation, as to be felt frequently crashing under the foot in walking.

afterwards; Eglos-rôs, or the Heath Church, now looks down from a mountainous eminence, upon the well-watered vale of Ruan Lanyhorne at its feet ‡.

About the same period probably, that is, about a couple of centuries after this religious descent of the Irish upon our coast, such part of the mountain-heath as lay most adjacent to Veryan, was moulded equally into a parish; and from the royal saint, lately deceased there, was denominated St. Gerens. That this church and the church of Eglos-ros were formed originally about the same period, is suggested not merely by the regular analogy of operation at the sides of Veryan and Ruan Lanyhorne, but by the striking similarity in the site of each to the other's, and the opposition as striking in the sites of both to the sites of their mother-churches; these being lodged in the warm bosoms of two vales, and those perching boldly upon the windy summits of two hills, Eglos-ros upon the northern promontory of the whole, and Gerens upon the southern. But that experience, which had originally driven our ancestors into the shelter of a valley for the mothers, seems to have soon beaten them back into it again for the daughters. The daring deviation could not be recalled indeed; but it was not repeated, in the two parishes that successively occupied the remainder of this tract of hills. The third parish won from the waste, appears to have been that little intake to the west of Gerens, which now constitutes the petty district of St. Anthony; but seems from its very pettiness to have once constituted a part of Gerens district. It seems also, from its participation with Gerens, in being detached from the main body of the county, as to the spiritual jurisdiction over it, being made independent of the archdeacon, and subjected immediately to the bishop himself *. And it seems once more, from that

‡ How directly then, in contradiction to fact, does Mr. Tonkin in MS. interpret Eglos-rôs, "a church in a valley?" Just as directly as he interprets Roseland the name of *a congeries* of hills, rising one upon the back of the other, with scarce a gully between them; into a "circuit of land in *the vale*, with a *promontory*?"

It asks discretion e'en in running mad.

* In the first Valor is "Taxatio peculiaris jurisdictionis domini episcopi." There, under "Decanatus de Penryn," are equally Gerens and St. Anthony.

extraordinary right, which it once possessed, which is still continued derivatively from it, and of which I know no parallel in the whole island; a right to half the revenues of Gerens rectory itself. As a chapel to Gerens it might take a part of its parish, and might receive half of its income. It was thus made a parish, I believe, and thus had a rector; as we know it to be at present, and find it to have had formerly. But it was so made, and so had, I also believe, at the very period in which it was annexed to that free chapel of the king's before the Conquest, that erection of one of our Saxon sovereigns, the collegiate church of Plympton in Devonshire. To this it was annexed, in all probability, at the conquest of Cornwall in 936; when only could an English college come to hold possessions in *Roseland*, when Athelstan assuredly attached the new rectory to his own or a predecessor's college, and when he made it fit for the college's acceptance by exerting the paramount prerogative of a conquest, in transferring half the endowment of the church to the chapel. To such a transfer, no right, no power is competent, but that which absorbs all power, all right in itself, the englutting authority of conquest †. Two canons of the college now lived in a kind of parsonage-house, at St. Anthony; one of them as half-rector of Gerens, and the other as whole-rector of St. Anthony. But the college being turned into a priory in the beginning of the twelfth century, the parsonage-house became a cell to a couple of monks; one of them, as half-rector, having 46*s.* 8*d.* a year, the other, as whole-rector, enjoying 60*s.* 0*d.* at the making of the first Valor. Thus did the right sink with the possessions into a lay-fee, at the Reformation *. And at last, probably

† In Wharton's Anglia Sacra, ii. 470, is the only case at all parallel with this, yet different from it. "Inveniens in ecclesiâ de Haiâ," says Giraldus Cambrensis, in his account of the archiepiscopal visitation through Wales,—"militem quendam *fratrem*," the patron probably of the living, "personæ tam *oblationes ad altare* quàm *decimas exteriores* et *obventiones* omnes *cum personâ dimidiantem et ex æquo participantem*; statim "*enormitatem illam*, sed non tamen absque difficultate et militis mulctâ ac commiuatione, "delevit."

* Leland's Itin. iii. 30: "A celle of S. Antonie longging to Plympton priory; and here, "of late dayes, lay 2 chanons of Plympton priory." P. 43: "Plymtoun a collegiate "chirch, alias *capella libera domini regis* before the Conquest." P. 45: "William Warwist "bishop

bably in the eleventh or twelfth century, certainly before the Valor of the thirteenth, the whole circuit of the heath was taken within the pale of cultivation, and formed into distinct districts for religion, by extending the principle progressively to the west; thus erecting on the only remainder that church, which, in the second Valor, is denominated St. Just's in *Roseland*, under the valuation of 37*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* but in the first is called only "Ecclesia de Sancto Justo," with the valuation of 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; while Eglos-ros is charged at 5*l.* yet recharged at 15*l.* 6*s.* 0½*d.*; and Ruan Lanyhorne, having a parish much smaller than either, is estimated at 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* nor rose higher than to 12*l.* afterwards. The primary rate of estimation bespeaks the primary heathiness of the ground within the parish of St. Just; as the secondary denotes the rapid progress made in cultivation there, through two centuries and

"bishop of Excestre, displeased with the chanons or prebendaries of a fre chapelle of the "fundation of the Saxon kinges,—found meanes to dissolve their college, wherin was a deane "or provost and 4 prebendaries, with other ministers. Then he set up at Plympton a "priorie of canons-regular." In Henry's Valor, St. Anthony's is said to be only a chapel to Gerens. A gross mistake! In Pope Nicholas's we find, "Ecclesia de Sancto Antonnio "in *Rosland* lx*s.*" equally with "ecclesia de Sancto Gerendo;" and this note to the *latter*, "Portio rectoris ibidem xlvi*s.* viii*d.* Portio prioris Sancti Antonini in ecclesiâ de "Sancto Gerundo, videlicet xlvi*s.* viii*d.*" or (as another, the Harleian, Valor reads) "*rectoris* ecclesiæ Antonii ibidem xlvi*s.* viii*d.*" We thus see the origin of a right, which now appears so singular a secularization of church income, but which is made more singular by the lay-owner's extension of it, not merely to a moiety of the settled permanent income, the tithes and the glebe; but to half of those offerings at Easter, which are purely voluntary in their amount beyond the two-pences, prescribed by law, which, in the two-pences themselves, are purely the fruits of the rector's personal labours in administering the eucharist at Easter, and to half even of the still more contingent fruits of his labours, in burying, in marrying, or in churching. To none of these can the lay-owner have the slightest right, his right being to nothing contingent, to nothing paid for personal offices, to nothing beyond what was substantial enough to be estimated in a Valor. But, when the rectorial church of St. Anthony is said, in the second Valor, to be merely a chapel to Gerens, a reference is probably made to its reduced condition under the plundering hands of our reformers; when it was deprived of all its endowments, as well as its house: it now possesses only a petty annuity of 10*l.* a year from its lay-patron, and has divine service once a fortnight only, from the rector or curate of Gerens, as the stationary clergyman nearest to it, one, therefore, sure to be lowest in his terms: so nearly is the little church of St. Anthony brought back to what it seems to have been originally, a mere chapel to Gerens.

a half afterward; a progress much more rapid in St. Just than in Eglos-ros, from the later cultivation of *that* than of *this*, and from the building of the town of St. Mawes at one extremity of *that*. But the position of the two churches of St. Just and of St. Anthony shews us, that the feelings of Gerens and of Eglos-ros had taught the erectors not to select any of the high lands within their districts for the sites of their new churches, but to run down with them into the sheltered bottoms; both of them being *dropt* into bottoms more sheltered even than those of the mother-churches, even very narrow, very abrupt, and very wet, where the ground hangs in a steep declivity over the church, but where the church lies, for that very reason, peculiarly snug from the storms.

Thus the church which was the first upon the heath, and so took the heath's name for half of its own, appears from a train of circumstances, some coëval and some subsequent, to have been erected about the middle of the seventh century; when the memory of St. Piala could not have been fresh enough of itself to provoke a dedication to her; but when the name of St. Piala was probably attached from some casual reverence for her in the mind of the lay-patron. Denominated Eglos-ros in formal language, down to the first Valor; it was equally distinguished in familiar all the time, by the name of its saint. Thus only could it have come, as it did come, in two centuries and a half afterward, to have lost its local appellation, and to appear with its saint's name settled in form upon its head, being thus characterized in the last Valor, "Fellye alias Philley," as dedicated to "Saint Felix."

Philley

We have also another parish, under a similar title, but much older in its date, one assuredly of our original parishes, and one upon the *northern* coast of the county, even in the very vicinity of Gwynear. It is called in the second Valor, "Felack, alias St. Felix, alias Phillack," as equally dedicated to "St. Felix;" even "S. Filake's," by Leland *; and "S. Feli's" in an old rate for fifteenths †. But by the first Valor it is denominated in such a manner, so consonant to all those appella-

Phillack

* Itin. iii. 18. † Carew, 90.

tions,

tions, and so illustrative of all their meanings; as ascertains the sex, and appropriates the name of the saint, at both churches; "Ecclesia "Sanctæ Felicitatis," being its appellation there. We thus see the "Sancta Felicitas" of one of the churches, to be the same with the "St. Felix" of both; and the name to have been modified by pronunciation, into "Felack," or "Fellye," into "Phillack," or "Philley," or *Piala*. And the sister of Gwynear appears at last to have settled closer upon the Hayle than he, on the same side of it, but immediately opposite to St. Iä, and in the district comprehending the very castle of Rivier itself ‡.

BUDOC, however, appears to have pushed farther into the country, even as far as Breaca and Germochus, even to the very brink of the S. Budoc.

‡ As rival parishes have contended for the honour of being included within this region of roses and of mutton, just as rival states contended once for the glory of giving birth to Homer; let me, as a fair "arbiter elegantiarum" between them, here shew upon what grounds I have acted in my determination above. By a rigid sort of self-denying ordinance, I have cut off my own parish, with the parish of Veryan, from that honour for ever. I have thus proved my impartiality at the expense of my ambition. And "this parish of Philley," says the late Mr. Tonkin, a most unexceptionable witness, "being the first in that tract of "land called Roseland, *consisting of four parishes, this, Saint Just, Gerens*, and *Saint* "*Anthony*; I think," &c. Upon evidence so weighty, must a cause so important be now settled decisively.

But let me add more gravely, that Tonkin, and Borlase, and Pryce, all unite in giving *Rôs* the *occasional* meaning of a *valley*. Yet this is surely impossible to be true. A word, that in its *general* acceptance signifies a mountain, can never deviate surely into a meaning directly opposite to that. All language is governed by analogy. Two opposite meanings to a word, therefore, one general but the other occasional, would turn language into confusion, and revive the builders of Babel again. Rhôs (W.) is a mountain meadow; Ross (E.), a promontory; Rhôs, Rôs (C.), a mountain or a meadow, a moss, a heath, or a common; and Rhosydh (C.), heathy ground. Hence the interpreters of the Cornish, losing the predominant idea of a mountain, yet retaining it in part, and combining with it the idea of a meadow; have sunk the mountain into a valley, with *a promontory* to it, and so have transferred to the valley what can belong to the mountain only. "Ericetum—enim "*Ros* Britannicè significat," says that best of all judges, Camden; "unde *Rossiæ* in "Scotiâ, et *Rossiæ* alteri in Cambriâ, nomen, utpote qui tractus satis siticulosi et aridi, sed "hic," our Roseland, "colonorum industriâ lætior et feracior. Post hanc *Rossiam* statim "oceanus," &c. P. 138.

south

south sea, as the British Channel is with a seeming magnificence of expression denominated in Cornwall. When an appellation has been once fixed upon a grand object, any application of it afterwards to an object much inferior, strikes the mind of the hearer at first with a sense of proud presumption in the applier; till the mind recovers itself from the stroke, rallies its powers of discernment, and sees the sensation to be a revolt merely mechanical in the understanding, against an application strictly just in itself. To the south sea then did Budoc penetrate, and to the south-east, almost as far as Falmouth. "I cam," notes Leland in his progress from east to west along the southern side of Cornwall, "to S. Budocus chirch." This is popularly considered as only a chapel to the church of Gluvias, because it is now united, as it equally appears united upon the second Valor, in one presentation and one institution with Gluvias. But it is witnessed by the first Valor, to have been a distinct church then; "Ecclesia de Sancto Budoco," being then noticed, as well as "Ecclesia de Sancto Gluviate," and that being rated at six pounds, while this is rated only at forty shillings. Yet the one was pretty plainly a chapel to the other, as they are both subjected immediately to the jurisdiction of the bishop. St. Budoc's, indeed, appears, from its superior value, two thirds more than Gluvias's, to have been the mother-church; Gluvias being merely a chapel, erected on the eastern side of a creek, for the conveniency of the new town arising there. It is now thrown out of the town; because the park, belonging to the bishop, on the hill above, was laid open to the builder, and the houses removed to another creek on the west, with a long prominence of land at the side, as well as a greater depth of water in the channel. There the new town began under the years 1264, 1265, "in "a more," at the head of this creek, with a collegiate church, founded there by a bishop himself, even bishop Brunscomb, alias the Good Bishop, "in the bottom of a parke of hys;" the park still subsisting to the erection of the church, and the founder of *this* being therefore the opener of *that*. Accordingly Norden speaks thus of "Gluvias," as "the churche "for Penrin borowe, yet but *a chappell appendant unto Budock*, called "*Capella de Behelland*,—because it was buylded upon certayne lands "called

" called Behelland feyldes *." Nor could Gluvias have ever pretended to arrogate a supremacy over Budoc, till the town of Penryn became considerable enough, as it appears in the Valor of 1292; so vigorously had it shot up in less than thirty years! to be a distinct rectory of itself, even to become the denominator of that petty deanery of peculiars, which, however, specifies Budoc first, Gluvias second, then Milor, Gerens, and St. Anthony; till both were reduced into vicarages, by being appropriated to the new college, that *germ* of the new town; and till both, for this very reason probably, were again incorporated into one, as they appear in the second Valor, under that combined title, which shews us the daughter for the first time presuming to take precedence of her mother, " St. Gluvias and St. Budoke vicarage." Then, upon the same principle of religion, another chapel was erected in the removed town, continued to the days of Leland, but has been allowed to disappear since; that attention to the public offices of religion, which operated so strongly before the Reformation, and does so much honour to our ancestors before it, having been shamefully relaxed since, suffering our chapels to be desecrated, and leaving our churches to be deserted. St. Budoc's then was the mother-church to Penryn, as it is well known to have also been to Falmouth. Yet who was the saint that lent his name to this original parish of Cornwall, and has the honour of enclosing two of our principal towns within it? Leland shall tell us. " This Budocus," he adds, " was an IRISCHMAN, and CAM INTO CORNEWALLE, and THER," at Budoc, " DWELLID," as a hermit †.

Yet

* Norden, 45.

† Leland's Itin. iii. 25. In the first Valor is this entry: " *Decanatus de Penryn.* Eccl. de " S^to^ Budoco vi. li.; eccl. de S^to^ Gluviate xl s." Leland's Itin. iii. 26: " The first ereke or " arme, that castith outh on the north-west side of Falemuth, goith up [to] Perin, and at the " ende it brekith into 2 armes, the lesse to the college of Glasenith—at Perin, the other to St. " Gluvias, the paroch chirch of Penrine thereby." P. 27: " One Walter Good, bishop of " Excestre," meaning him who is commonly called Walter Bronescomb, who became bishop in 1257, and died in 1280, " made yn a more—, in the bottom of a parke of his at Penrine, a " collegiate chirch." Itin. W^l^ de Worcestre, 123: " Fundacio collegii predicti per Walterum " episcopum Excestriæ in anno Christi 1265." Ibid. 128: " 1264, Peryn villa—. Ecclesia col- " legii—fundata fuit per Walterum de Goode episcopum Excestriæ." Leland's Itin. vii. 120:

" At

S. Buriana. Yet BURIEN went another way, equally penetrated towards the south sea, but inclined much more to the west; and while Sinnin settled near the Land's End, she settled a little short of his abode, at the place so distinguished afterwards by Athelstan's vow, so honoured with a college of clergy erected by Athelstan, so dignified still by that existing remnant of

" At the very hedd of which [creek] standeth a prety towne of marchandyse, and vytayle market. " Yn the towne ys a chapel, and a quarter of a myle owt of the town ys the paroch chyrch." This, adds Mr. Willis, in ii. 106, 107, " is an ancient manor belonging to the see of " Exeter, of which it is at this day held by the corporation, who pay the bishops of that see " a certain quit-rent for the toll of the markets and the fairs. The bishop is lord of the " borough, and *forrens* or out-borough." In the 30th Edward I. " Thomas Button alias " Britton," who became bishop in that very year, 1293, " exhibited his claim of infang- " thef," &c. " in his manor of Penryn, which he challenged to be a free borough, and," of course, " ' to have the property of a market and fair; and that these rights were enjoyed " by his predecessors'," bishop Quivil and bishop Bronescomb; " who probably made it a " borough, there being several presidents [precedents] of bishops having done the same, as " Josceline bishop of Wells, who made Cherd, com. Somerset, a free borough, temp. " Hen. III." Bishop Bronescomb made it a borough, and bishop Quivil a free borough, assuredly; and thus exercised the power which was not peculiar to prelates, but common to all lords of manors or towns, and belonged to prelates only as such lords. A free borough was merely a borough free from the payment of tolls to its lord. And Walter built the college as a kind of castle to his new town, it being " stronly [strongly] wallid and incastellid, having " 3 strong towers, and gunnes, at the but of the creke." (Leland's Itin. iii. 27.) For that reason alone could he have placed his college upon ground so improper for any building, so peculiarly improper for a large one (see W. de Worcestre, 128, 129); upon a " glaseníth " 1. viridis nidus, or wag nier" (Leland, iii. 26); because this was " at the but ende " of the creke." There the college remained in part to the present century, its towers being the " two watch-towers" of Penryn, in Hals, 145, " still in being;" therefore, leading him to say Penryn " was heretofore walled and fortified for its defence against enemies;" one of them occasioning Willis to allege more truly, in ii. 106, that " part of the ruins of this " [college] are still standing, viz. a *tower* and some garden walls;" and all traces of it being now swept away, except the two stone piers of a large gateway, opening into the town. The bishop's house, which had this park for an appertenance, is noticed by Norden, 49, as " with- " out the towne,—a mannor," house, " called *Penryn e Bryn*;" or the Court of Penryn (see Rowland's Mona, 90, 91); and by Hals, 145, as in English *Summer Court Town*, merely Summer Court, a small house on the creek coming from the college, and very lately rebuilt for a manufactory of paper.

In Hals's bedlamite account of Penryn, 144—147, we have some verses cited from " the Cornish Manuscript of the Creation of the World, a play brought into Oxford in 1450, " and

of the college, a nominal deanery, a real jurisdiction, and a large revenue. "S. Buriana," Leland tells us, "AN HOLY WOMAN OF IRELAND, "sumtyme DWELLID IN THIS PLACE, and THERE MADE AN ORATORY *." "The canons of *Saint Berrione*," as Doomsday Book informs us, "hold "*Eglos-berrie* †." So varied does the name appear, in the two mentions made of it by this record! But it appears still more varied in the Valors, the earlier specifying "Ecclesia de *Beranes*," according to the Cottonian copy, or "Ecclesia Sanctæ Berianæ," according to Spelman's; and the later mentioning "*Borian*, alias St. Burien." Yet with another variation, disguising her name, I believe her to be the same with "*Bruinet* [Burient], a king's daughter, that CAME INTO CORNWALL "WITH SAINT PIRAN ‡." And she even appears plainly to be "*Saint* "*Branca* [Buranta], the virgin, who *lies* in the *church of the female* "*saint aforesaid*, four miles *from Mount St. Michael* §." The college

"and still extant in the Bodleian library there;" which he did not understand, and I now wish to apply. Some of them are these, as translated by himself:

"Warbarth gans ol gweel Bohellan,
"Hag goad Penrin entien;
"An Ennis, hag Arwinick,
"Tregimber, hag Kegyllack.

"Your wages is [are] prepared,
"Together with all the fields of Bohellan,
"And the wood of Penrin entirely,
"The island, and Arwinick,
"Tregember, and Kegyllack."

The words, notes Hals, are "spoken as by *Solomon* rewarding the *builders of the uni-* "*verse*." So finely are all the unities of time, place, and character observed by this Cornish drama. *The fields of Bohellan* allude to the very lands, on which Gluvias church was built; the wood of Penryn, to the wood traditionally known to have been formerly there in its imparked state: Ennys, *not* to the island of the Black Rock, as Hals most ridiculously supposes, a rock never inhabited, and never habitable; but to an estate still denominated Ennys, as well as to estates equally denominated still Arwinick, Tregember, and Kegyllack; all with Behelland *within the parish of Gluvias*, and all *witnessing the author himself to have been a parishioner of it*. Bacon cites Willis, for St. Mary Magdalen chapel, in Penryn, when Willis only cites Leland, and for a chapel without a name.

* Leland's Itin. iii.

† F. 121: "Canonici S. Berrione tenent Eglos-berrie." In Cornish it was called "Eglis "Buriens, i. e. Ecclesia Burienæ vel Berianæ" (Camden, 136); as Burien is to this day pronounced Berien in common conversation.

‡ Leland's Itin. iii. 195: "Ex Vitâ Pirani.—'Buinet, filia cujusdam reguli'."

§ Itin. W[i] de Worcestre, 107: "Sancta Branca, virgo; dies ejus agitur die primo . . . . , "jacet in ecclesiâ prædictæ Sanctæ per iiii miliaria Montis Michaelis."

of clergy, erected in honour of this saint, seems to have been deserted by them for some time before the Reformation; from the preposterous nomination probably of Englishmen, of court chaplains, or of ministerial expectants, to the preferments in it. They were there at the Conquest. They probaby continued there for a good while afterward. But they were seldom resident at all in the days of Leland; and therefore called aloud for the compelling hand of discipline to be laid upon them. "Ther lyith betwyxt the sowth-west and Newlyn," says this ever useful chorographer, "a myle or more of the se, S. Buryens, a sanctuary; "wherby, as nere to the chyrch, be not above viii dwellyng howses. "Ther longeth to S. Buryens a deane and a few prebendarys, *that almost* "*be nether ther* *." The college thus sunk into ruins, and the ruins were destroyed by that retrograde zeal for religion, which should in common sense have rebuilt instead of demolishing the college, and have settled a permanent colony of divines within it. There were three prebendaries, a rector, and a dean; the three probably for the three churches of Burien, Sennan, and Levin, the rector for the ruling church, and the dean, as president over all. But now the dean,

Like Aaron's rod, has swallow'd up the rest;

having first fatted his lean deanery of 9*l.* 16*s.* 0½*d.* in the last Valor, with the rich rectory of the parish, instituted some ages before either Athelstan or the dean, and in the last Valor rated at 48*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*; but having also glutted himself since, I apprehend, with two of the three prebends. These are specified in the Valor under the titles of Tirthney, Respernell, or Parva, and with the estimates of 7*l.*, 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 2*l.* respectively. Two of these, however, Respernell and Tirthney, exist merely in name, having been for a century past incorporated silently into the substance of the deanery, and having therefore no known patron at present; while the other, the very small one, has the bishop for its. Thus clergymen shew a rapaciousness of avarice, even in sacred appropriations of income, that a sacrilegious Henry did not shew. What he spared, they seize. And a parish, so large in itself, so amply beneficed at first, so richly collegiated afterwards, is resigned up to the care of three curates; while the rector, the dean, and two out

* Leland's Itin. vii. 127.

of the three prebendaries, are all living luxuriously in the person of one divine, the very leviathan of St. Burien's, but taking his pastime at a considerable distance from it*. The "oratory," then, which "S. "Buriana—there made, while she sumtyme dwellid in this place" as a hermit, was of the same sort as Breaca made upon another point of our shore, the parish-church rebuilt by her; rebuilt at the expense of one, who, though she was a hermit like Breaca, was also like her possessed of much wealth, and was in fact the daughter of a king; becoming afterwards the place of her sepulture, so bearing her sainted name upon its head, and receiving the supplications of Athelstan to God in it; but finally taken down by the king, when he "made *ex voto* "a college *where* the oratory was," and *where* the still collegiated yet shamefully deserted parish-church is at present †.

Thus did the Cornish come to be, what Camden represents them to have been in his time; "men who have always respected so far *the* "*saints of Ireland*, and *those of their own country*, as the tutelary spirits "of it, that *they have consecrated almost all their towns to them* ‡." But let me bind these three incidents close to my subject, by a fourth. In the year 600, according to Harding, or 586, according to Powel, says Dr. Borlase in his Chronology, "Cariois, alias Careticus, reigned, "according to H. 3, to P. 2, years over *all Britain*, and in Wales, and "in Cornwall 15 more. *At this time* the Britons were, by the Saxons,— "driven into Wales and Cornwall with their king *Careticus*." Not. in Powel's Catalogue §. This is that visionary kind of history, which still haunts the scene of reality at times, "revisiting the glimpses of the "moon," and "making night hideous." A sole sovereign over all Britain about the year 600, or even 586, and driven from his imperial throne into Wales or Cornwall, is merely a ghost, drest in armour of gilt leather, gliding along the darkened boards, and vanishing. Careticus

* Tanner, Borlase, 383, 384, and Bacon.

† Leland's Itin. iii. 18.

‡ Camden, 136: "Sanctos—Hibernicos, et indigetes suos, hæc gens ut tutelares ita "semper suspexit, ut omnia fere oppida illis consecraverit."

§ Borlase, 409.

ticus indeed was only the little king of a county, had no connexion with Cornwall at all, and ruled only what has derived its appellation from him, Ceretica, or Cardiganshire in Wales *. Nor did he or his son CARANTOC live so late as 586 or 600; the son *passing over into Ireland* about 432, in order to unite *with Saint Patrick* in the glorious work of converting the Irish †; and afterwards, about 460, coming assuredly into Cornwall with the large colony of hermits from Ireland, some of them, like him, the companions of St. Patrick; some too, like him, the very co-operators with St. Patrick in converting the Irish. *Into Cornwall he certainly came*; and therefore came with that colony of co-operators or companions, which has proved so very copious a source of saints to the Cornish. "Karantoc was the son of Cereticus, "a king of the Britons," says an ancient life of him, in some extracts made by Leland; "Karantoc constructed an oratory for himself, in the "place which was called *Guerith Karantauc* ‡." This the biographer afterwards denominates in a mode of termination, that may seem to speak *him* a Saxon, but is equally British also; "Karan*ton*, that is, the "manour of Karantoc, being the place given to Karantoc §." The name of *Guerith Karantauc*, therefore, thus explained by the biographer as a Cornishman, is that Cornish appellation which was fixed upon the ground, at the very period of ceding the ground to Carantoc; and the appellation is truly correspondent with all, *Gwerydoe* (W.) signifying a land, a country, a region; but *Gueret* (C.), which is still nearer to the name, meaning the ground. This land must have been assigned to the

S. Carantoc.

Goroch?

* Usher, 441: "Carantocum—Keredici Cereticæ apud Cambrobrit. annos regis filium."

† Usher, 441: "Eôdem ipso quo in Hiberniam Patricius advenit anno, Carantocum, "Hibernis Cernach appellatum,—in Hibernià conversari cœpisse, in Sancti illius Vitâ "legimus."—See also p. 517, for the specified year.

‡ Leland's Itin. iii. 195: "Ex Vitâ Karantoci. 'Karant. filius Keretici regis Britann.';" an ambiguous expression, that probably suggested the wild imagination of a king of all Britain. "Karant. construxit oratorium in loco qui dictus Guerith Karantauc." This saint, therefore, is different from the Karatoc, or Carantac, of Itin. viii. 72: "Ex Vitâ Karatoci. "'Carantacus filius *Roderici* regis. Carantocus fuit in Hibernià 30 annis ante nativitatem S. "Danielis'," which Daniel died about 545. (Usher, 274.)

§ Leland's Itin. iii. 195: "Ex Vitâ Karantoci.—Karanton, i. e. villa Karantoci, locus "datus Karant."

dignified

dignified hermit, by the owner of the soil under the permission of the king. Both, therefore, must have been as much Christians in profession, as Carantoc was one in zeal. This zeal, which carried him into Ireland, and engaged him with the heathens, which exposed him to infinite dangers, as well as subjected him to infinite troubles, strangely subsided at last into the sequestrations of a hermitage. We consider indeed the religiousness that thus retires, to be mingled with timidity, to shrink therefore from the world, and so to withdraw into solitude; when with more courage it would be more useful, and, by giving an example of practised holiness, would delineate to all viewers, mediate or immediate, the very picture of *general* religiousness in lively colours. Nor do we consider wrong, in thus thinking. This is clearly the case, with the multitude of retirers. But with such men as Carantoc, as Piran, and others before, men that felt enough of the impulse of spirit, to meet the blackest frowns of the world; that kindled sufficiently with the flame of Heaven, to struggle earnestly for the salvation of man in contradiction to man's own desires; the case is very different. Such men had, such men could have, no timidity about them. They were the magnanimous heroes of our race. They shewed themselves such in magnanimous and heroical exertions for the conversion of man to Christianity. But when the work was done, for which their spirits had been strained, and their minds bent, to their fullest stretch of possibility; their minds and spirits relaxed, seeking a repose from all their intenseness of operation, in the calm of contemplative religion, in the ease of devout aspirations. In this manner, but with less dignity, Scipio retired from the triumphs of war and the ingratitude of Rome, to walk with Lælius upon the beach at Gaieta or Lorenzo, to pick pebbles, to collect shells, and let himself down to all the amusements of his boyish days *. That therefore may be said of *them* which Livy writes of *him*; "in

* Tully De Oratore, ii. 22: "Sæpe ex socero meo audivi, cum is diceret, soceram suum "Lælium semper ferè cum Scipione solitum rusticari, eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse "solitos, cum rus ex urbe, tanquam e vinculis, evolavissent. Non audeo dicere de talibus "viris, sed tamen ita solet narrare Scævola, conchas eos et umbilicos ad Caietam et ad "Laurentum legere consuesse, et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere."

"youth

" youth they were continually engaged in wars, in old age they seemed " to shrink in their size, because they had not objects sufficient to call " out their genius †." On this principle did Carantoc settle at a point of our north sea, a little to the east of Piran; fix his cell by the parish-church there, and was buried within it at his death, assuredly; so gave his name to a parish, that surrounds the site of both at present, that once had the collegiate church of *Saint Karentine* upon the very site of his, and still has the poor, plundered, naked church of *Carantok*, or *Crantok*. That church has been collegiated in honour of St. Carantoc, we may be sure very soon after his death, and while his memory was yet fresh among the Cornish. It is therefore mentioned in our record of Doomsday Book, as even then a college of canons. These " canons " of S. Carentoch," says the book, " hold Langoroch;" a name then applied to the church and church-lands, by a colloquial contraction of the saint's name, as it is still retained for the church itself, " and held it " in the time of king Edward *." They appear, from the early Valor, to have been no less than nine prebendaries and a portionist ‡. But all were torn away before the late Valor, by that low-thoughted penuriousness of soul, which fancies almost every expense too much for the honour of God's worship, but none too great for the gratification of its own pride; which plunders the church of God to swell the luxury of its own table; and would, if it could, plunder even " Heaven's pavement, beaten " gold," to heighten its own pomp of prodigality upon earth. Thus a church so amply endowed, as to be rated in value beyond any other in Cornwall, even at 89*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* near two thousand a year at present, has been reduced so low by the audaciousness of sacrilege, as to remain a melancholy monument of its ravages in the eyes of the present generation. Nothing is left, not even the vicarage, that production of lazi-

† Livy, xxxviii. 53: " In juventâ bella assidue gesta; cum senectâ res quoque defloruêre, " nec præbita est materia ingenio."

* Doomsday Book, f. 121.: " Canonici S. Carentoch tenent Langoroch, et tenebant " tempore regis Edwardi." Hals, 73: " The vicarage church of Crantock is commonly " called Lan-Gurra, or Lan-Gorra."

‡ Pope Nicholas's Valor, by supplying from Spelman's copy the portion omitted in the Cottonian.

ness,

ness, or non-residence, in the canons, rated in the first Valor at forty shillings merely, but turned in the second into a curacy, that subsists merely on a pittance of eight pounds a-year certain *. So nearly have some of the clergy been ground to atoms in their revenues, between the moving millstones of Popery and Protestantism; both turning upon the same spindle of selfishness, but Protestantism pressing with still greater force than Popery. So little, too, could the character of this sainted son of a Welsh king, this honoured hermit of Cornwall, and this converter of the Irish with St. Patrick, operate to save his church, the erection, probably, of some cotemporary sovereign of Cornwall, from the sousing harpies of desolation †!

* Bacon.

† Cotemporary with these was a saint, purely Cornish in his birth, I apprehend, but never yet affixed to Cornwall. This is one of whom our memorials are not very slight, and our evidences not merely modern. "*Whilst S. Patrick laboured in the Gospell with so great* "*successe*," says Cressy, 182-185, "*Brittany*," that is, our isle of Britain, "was illustrated "with the glory of another great saint; who, notwithstanding, by reason of the calamities "afterward hapning, was forced to *leave* his *native* countrey, and passe over into *Armorica* "in Gaule: this was S. WINWALOC, the son of a certain noble person called Fracan, cou- "sin-german to a *British* prince named Coton, *as wee reade in the Gallican Martyrologe.* "Malbranc, a French antiquary, affirms that his mother's name was Alba, and sirname "Trimavis, *citing for his authority the ancient manuscript monuments of Monstrueil.*— "Malbranc earnestly contends that his sacred relics repose at Monstrueil, where they shew "likewise his chasuble, albe, and stole; and *there* is a church dedicated to his memory, "in French called S. Waloy." This saint was professedly a British, and plainly a Cornish man. He is remembered at Monstreuil, we see, and he is equally remembered in Cornwall, we know: a church has continued his name in both to the present day. In our deanery of Kerrier we have the parish of *Gunwallo*, and the church of it is dedicated to *Saint Wynwallow*. This part of our coast, therefore, was assuredly that at which he resided as a hermit, and from which he "passed over into Armorica," to settle finally at a monastery in Artois; while the church of S. Waloy, at Monstreuil, was in all probability that "little private church, seperated from noyse and abode of people, about a mile "distant from his monastery," to which "it was S. Winwaloc's custom to repair daily,— "that he might more quietly and without distraction" pray there. (Cressy, 184.) He was half a hermit still; but he is now restored to Cornwall for the first time. Yet to Cornwall was he given by the old martyrologies, the additions made to Bede's specifying expressly on the *twenty-eighth of April* "CORNUBIÆ nat. S. GUINGUALŒI *Confessoris.*" (Bedæ Opera, 362.) He was no martyr, we see, as he was only a confessor; and his *natale* was his actual *birth-day*.

S. Winwallow.

I have

I have thus carried my chain of evidence to a sufficient length for the present; I have particularly pointed out that rich embarkation of saints which came over from Ireland into Cornwall about the year 460. All these saints existed, we should now remember, in that very period of our Cornish history in which Dr. Borlase dreams he "finds many holy "men employed to convert the Cornish to the Christian religion;" when the Cornish appear already converted, already Christians, and having their kings, their nobles, their clergy, their monks, or their hermits, all happily united in Christianity together *.

SECTION

* In that colony from Ireland came undoubtedly some who are not to be regularly traced up to it at present, and therefore cannot be positively incorporated into its catalogue. Such
S. Withiel. a one we find in Leland's brief notice of "WITHEL, an *Yrisch sainct*" (Itin. v. 42), who certainly gave name to the "Ecclesia de Withiel" of the first Valor; the "Wythioll, alias "Withiel," of the second, a parish in our deanery of Pyder; because the name is pronounced by the Cornish exactly as it is written by Leland, not *Wythioll* or *Withiel*, but *Withel*. This church, therefore, is not dedicated in reality, however it may be in report, to an unknown "St. Uvell," whose name has little or no correspondency of sound with the appellation of the parish, but to this saint of Ireland, who echoes the name of the parish with so just a tone in his own. We have also another parish, that I *suppose* to be equally denominated from one of these *Irish* saints. "The prior of Tywardreth," says Hals, 11, "with divers other benefactors, as appears from the carving and inscription on the stones
S. Austell. "thereof, founded and endowed this church within the town of Trenance, now ST. AUSTELL "town; after which it was indifferently written Trenance Prior (Carew's Survey of Corn-"wall, 47), that is to say, the Valley-town Prior (or pertaining to him); and again by "him, Trenance Aus-tell, i. e. the Cell, Chapel, or Hole Valley-town; and again, Tre-"nance Aus-tell, i. e. the Valley-town, or out remote Cell or Chapel, so called in respect "to Tywardreth, its superior or mother-church." With such a sweep of licentiousness does this hero in absurdity take his course! even when he seems, from his references, to be most authentic in his accounts, he contrives to dash his folly of fiction in the face of his reader. The etymologies are too contemptible for refutation, and the reference to Carew is absolutely false in itself. Carew, in f. 47, makes no mention at all of "Trenance Prior," mentioning only "Trenanstle" for Trenan Austle; as in f. 44, he mentions equally under the 3d of Henry IV. "Trenasanstel" for Trenans Austel. The township was originally called Trenance, and in it resided the denominating saint. "S. Austol," notes Leland in Itin. vii. 120, "erat heremita." He took up his residence not far from a fountain here, called to this day "St. Austell Well," though it is a quarter of a mile to the north of the town, being a hollow in the face of a high perpendicular rock, bellying wide within, and arched in a peak without. The very place is denominated from it *Manacuddle* in writing, or

SECTION II.

Saints in Cornwall in the fourth century.

I HAVE now raised my lighthouse, stone by stone, and story by story, till the top of it has nearly ascended to the period of St. German's visit into Cornwall. But as I have some operations for St. German to perform in Cornwall that are purely Christian in themselves, and imply Christianity to be the religion established in Cornwall at the time, I am compelled to raise my lighthouse still higher. Thus will the fire upon it form a larger sphere of illumination, and irradiate the darkest clouds about its head; we shall thus behold Christianity, *at* the coming of Germanus into Cornwall, *before* it, even *long* before, dissolving all the magic ties of druidism, bursting all the charmed bands of heathen ignorance or heathen viciousness, and setting the soul of our ancestors free, free to assert her native dignity, to aspire after her natural place of rest, to fly into the bosom of her Father and her Friend in heaven.

Though Melor was not a martyr for Christianity, yet he was (as I have already hinted) a Christian when he was murdered. He was, says his ancient biographer in Leland, "bred up in a monastery*," that

or *Menikettle* in pronunciation; a Cornish appellation, that signifies merely the belly or basin in the rock (see Hist. of Man. ii. 285, quarto), and a basin attracting always the attention of antiquaries, recently engaging from them the title of a baptistery, yet now appropriated, for the first time, to its own use and its own saint: his cell, however, seems to have been on the site of the town itself, to have been there modelled into a chapel after his death, and magnified into a parish-church at last; thus proving the origin of the town, and having a district taken for it out of the close-adjoining parish of St. Mewan assuredly. A parish-church it was, even in the days of the first Valor; being specified in it as "ecclesia "de Sancto Austolo," at the very time when it had been appropriated to the priory of Tywardreth, as it had then "vicarius ejusdem." It was so appropriated in the reign of Henry III.: "Cart. 33 Ed. 1. n. 38. recit. per inspeximus tres cartas Hen. 3. viz. pri-"mam," &c. "secundam de *ecclesiâ de Austol*, tertiam de *libertate sanctuarii S. Austeli.*" (Monasticon, ii. 586, 587, Tanner under *Truwardraith.*)

* Leland's Itin. iii. 194, 195: "Ex Vitâ S. Melori.—'Melorus enutritus in cœnobio'."

 indubitable

indubitable evidence of Christianity professed and established in the country. We have even the very name of the monastery in that of its president, and so come to know the chronology of another saint of Cornwall: he was "bred up in the monastery of SAINT CORENTIN †." This saint, as Dr. Borlase tells us, "who is now called *Cury*," a chapel being now denominated from him *Corantyn* in the Valor of Henry VIII.; but *Cury* in popular usage, omitted (like Germo) in the Valor of Pope Nicholas, and, like Germo, included then, as it now is, in the parish of Breague, but included in it as a chapel to Gunwallo, a member still of the extended body of Breague, though all Sithney interposes between them, and once therefore uniting with Sithney to compose that body, "was the first Cornish apostle of note that we know of. Born in Brit-"tany, he preached first in his own country and Ireland, till, being "driven away by violence, he again betook himself to the life of a "hermit, which he had quitted for the sake of travelling [in Brittany "and Ireland], to instruct the ignorant [in Brittany] and the infidel [in "Ireland]: he settled at the foot of a mountain called Menehont, in "the diocese of Cornwall." A note refers to Parker's Ecclesiastical Antiquities for what is called "the very rich rectory of Menihont, in "Devonshire *;" without remarking that in Devonshire there is no such rectory, and even no such vicarage. "But some think it Men-"hynnett, in Cornwall;" as the note, without any apparent consciousness of the higher rationality of its second suggestion, immediately subjoins. "Here the fame of his sanctity increasing, at the entreaty of "Grallonus king of the Armoricans, he was consecrated bishop of "Cornwall by St. Martin, bishop of Tours in France, and, being said "to have converted all Cornwall, died in the year 401 ‡." This account is wholly derived from those impure sources of intelligence, Capgrave and Tinmouth; but the Doctor refers all to a source still more impure—to his own authority, as he appeals to no testimony for it. Nor is it worth while to dwell upon the apparent absurdities in it; he who

S. Corentin.

† Leland's Itin. iii. 194, 195: "Ex Vitâ S. Melori.—'In cœnobio S. Corentini'."

* Borlase, 369: "'Uberrimam rectoriam de Manihont in Devoniâ.' Parker's Eccl. Ant. Drake, p. 381."

‡ Borlase, 369.

"again

"*again* betook himself to the life of a hermit," being *consecrated a bishop*, and he being consecrated bishop *of Cornwall*, "at the entreaty "of"—whom?—the king of Cornwall surely!—No!—"of Grallonus "*king of the Armoricans.*" Only let me observe, that the second of these absurdities is apparently generated by a mixture of conflicting atoms: Grallon king of the Armoricans, at whose solicitation Corantyn was consecrated bishop of *Cornwall*, being actually king or count of *Cornouaille* in Armorica*; and Corantyn, so consecrated bishop of *Cornwall*, being bishop of *Cornouaille* in fact, even lending his sainted name to the cathedral of *Cornouaille* at Quimper †. We must however take the history as it lies before us, because we have no other, and try to pick up gold with Virgil out of this dung of Ennius. Corantyn, then, who is said by Dr. Borlase to have "died in the year 401," certainly died in a much earlier year; as Melor, who was murdered soon after the first reception of Christianity in Cornwall, we know to have been educated in *his* monastery. He first settled as a hermit, probably upon the shore of our south sea, upon that part of it in the parish of Breague which has the chapel of Corantyn or Cury on it at present: from his hermitage here, he seems to have been drawn by the king of Cornwall, and to have taken the charge of that monastery, as it was called, or that academy, as it might more properly be called, in which Melor the son of the king was educated. *This* was the retirement, I presume, in which he is here said to have "settled at the foot of a mountain called "Menehont;" at the foot of the mountain, high on the side of which stands the church, and at the bottom of which lies the vicarage-house:

* Lobineau, i. 1.

† "La legende de S. Menulfe ou Menon, que l'on trouve dans la Bibliotheque du "P. Labbe, tome ii. dans les Bollandistes au tome iii. du mois de Juillet, rapporte que ce "saint personnage quittant la Grande-Bretagné, aborda au territoire des Osismiens, *ou* "*S. Chorentin etoit eveque*; 'pervenit ad Minorem (Britanniam), in provinciam civitatis "quæ ab antiquis Oximorum nuncupatur, *cujus Sanctus Chorentinus antistes erat*'." (D'Anville's Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, 509.) "Des lettres datées de l'an 1166—ont été "données 'apud Confluentiam in ecclesiâ B. Mariæ et B. Chorentini.' On lit dans un "autre titre du Cartulaire de Kimper, 'ecclesia *S. Chorentini* in Confluentiâ'." (Ibid. 248, 249.)

the former, like a church in Wales, had attracted to it the name of Llan Heneth, or the Church of the Elder; so lent the name of Men Heneth, or the Mountain of the Elder, to the hill on which it stands *; and thence extended it over the parish, in supersedence of the ancient appellation of Tregelly †. This accordingly bears still the name of *Manihinnet* in the Valor of Pope Nicholas, and of *Mynhenyote*, alias *Menhynnet*, in that of Henry VIII.; and the vicarage, once the parsonage, I suppose, was that early academy or monastery of the Britons before *the very first* of all those schools of Cornwall, which have continued in our parsonage or our vicarage houses, even as late as our own days. This is also the church so distinguished in modern times, by being the first which heard the liturgy in the English language; as that is the mountain so celebrated in ancient, by having the first known school for education under it. We thus see Christianity established so thoroughly in Cornwall at this period, whatever the period precisely is, and soon after the general acceptance of Christianity by the Britons, that an academy was erected for the Christian education of the nobles, as even the son of the king was educated in it. We thus too advance, by the scale of Dr. Borlase's *own chronology*, up beyond the year 401, when Corantyn is stated by him to have died, and nearly half a century beyond the year at which St. German made his visit into Cornwall. And to this account of Corentin, however full for a person so little known, we may just add two circumstances totally unknown to Dr. Borlase, yet truly important to the history of him; that he is mentioned expressly

* *Mynneu* or *Mennit*, are mountains in Welsh and Cornish (Borlase); *Myn* or *Men*, therefore, was once a mountain in those languages, as *Moin*, *Muine*, still are in Irish, and *Penmanmaur* is in Welsh; *Heneth* (C.) is age, *Henydd* (W.) an elder. So we have "Llan "Heneth," a parish-church in Wales, not signifying (as Leland interprets the name) "Fanum Obedientiæ" (Itin. v. 62), but "Fanum Presbyteri." This is now called "Henllan," I presume, in "the deanery of Rhose or Ross." (Liber Regis.)

† "The lordship of [Treeg]elly, now caullid Minheneth lordship—: from Leskard to "Minheneth a 2 miles, wher is a fair large old chirch. The personage is impropriate "to . . . . .," Exeter college in Oxford. "The maner of Minheneth was sumtime caullid "Tregelly, whereof the *name* and *ruines* yet remaine." (Leland's Itin. iii. 39, 40.) The ruins still remain, I understand, in a gateway, &c.

upon the additions made to Bede's Martyrology in manuscript, as there we read on the first of May thus, "in *Cornwall*, the birth-day of SAINT "CONRINTIN, the *confessor* and *bishop**;" and that this saint was so famous in those ages during which religion seems not merely (as it ought) to have reigned paramount to all other ideas, but almost to have absorbed them quite, as to have made the abbey of Glastonbury proud to possess the relics of "SAINT CORENTIN the *bishop* †," equally with the remains of St. Petrock and other less provincial saints ‡.

But we may mount still higher upon *Dr. Borlase*'s ladder, and actually advance another half century beyond this: so sleepily inattentive has the Doctor been to the very facts and dates which he furnishes himself! The mind of a writer, unless it is very lively in its energies, and kept awake by perpetual exertions, is apt to doze at times over its work; to perform half the functions of authorship under the influence of drowsiness, so produce a composition

. . . . . Got "'tween asleep and wake."

* Bedæ Opera, 364, Smith: "Cornubiæ natale S. Conrintini confessoris atque pon-"tificis."

† Joannes Glastoniensis, 450: "Os de Sancto Corentino episcopo," with "os de Sancto "Petroco," &c.

‡ See Borlase's Nat. Hist. 315, for the English liturgy being first used in Menhynnet. But what must have been the religious distress of the Cornish in the long interval between the proscription of the ancient liturgy, and the establishment of the new in the English language? The English, too, was not *desired* by the Cornish, as vulgar history says, and as Dr. Borlase avers (ibid.); but, as the case shews itself plainly to be, *forced* upon the Cornish by the tyranny of England, at a time when the English language was yet unknown in Cornwall. This act of tyranny was at once gross barbarity to the Cornish people, and a death-blow to the Cornish language. Had the liturgy been translated into Cornish, as it was into Welsh, *that* language would have been equally preserved with *this* to the present moment. But this *Wales in a corner* had not consequence enough in itself to secure it that proper attention of humanity and of religion, equally with the extensive principality of North and South Wales; for savage indeed are those rulers who, for the sake of a petty advantage in politics, sentence a whole generation of men to live without the benefit of public worship; as was in our own days meditated equally to be done, according to the late Dr. Johnson's information personally given to me, against the Scotch of the Highlands, by low wretches who could not lift up their souls above the suffocating vapour of politics.

"About

"About the *middle* of the *fourth* century," the Doctor observes, "Solo-
"mon *duke* of Cornwall," or, as in his chronology at the end he cites Leland, more properly calling him "the little *king* of Cornwall*;" though the Doctor still persists in calling him *duke*, even there, as if he thought the nominal king to be a real duke†; "*seems* to have been
S. Keby. "a Christian; for his son KEBIUS was ordained a bishop by Hilarius, "bishop of Poictiers in France, and afterwards returned into his own "country to exercise that high function‡." The prior Keby, therefore, and *not* the posterior Corantyn, was surely what we have already seen, the Doctor most contradictorily calling the latter "the first Cornish "apostle of note that we meet with;" the former being actually the first in *time*, the first in *birth* as a certainly "*Cornish* apostle," and the first too in "note" as *the son of the king of Cornwall;* nor could "Solomon duke of Cornwall" even "seem to have been a Christian," but must have been no Christian at all, if the posterior Corantyn has been truly "said" before "to have converted *all* Cornwall." Yet Solomon, the father of Keby, in fact does not merely "seem" to be a Christian, but was *certainly* one, as his scriptural name of *Solomon* evinces at a glance. So early was Christianity seated *on the throne* of Cornwall; even by Dr. Borlase's own estimation of time, "about the "middle of the fourth century," as the Doctor *here* avers, or "about "the year 350," as the Doctor repeats in *another* place§. Keby himself, according to his biographers Tinmouth and Capgrave in Usher, to whom the Doctor refers for his and their account, *first spent twenty years in his education among his countrymen of Cornwall*‖; being educated, like Melor, in some Cornish monastery assuredly, and most probably in what was afterward Corantyn's at Menhynnet. Such a monastery was at once a school and an university to the members, they being

* Leland De Script. Brit. 65: "Solomonis, Coriniæ reguli."
† Borlase, 407.
‡ Ibid. ibid.
§ Ibid. ibid.
‖ Usher, 105: "'Postquam viginti annis apud Cornubienses suos liberalibus disciplinis "incubuisset'," &c.

sent

sent to it very young, and therefore spending so many years at it. He then went abroad to complete his education, and to prepare himself more eminently for the office to which he obviously devoted his life at this period—that of a clergyman; nor had he any conception of that hasty mode of preparing for the sacred character, of which we see such frequent instances in his own Cornwall at present, and by which the raw schoolboy is speedily transformed into the unfledged divine. A Cornish education too might properly qualify, he thought, for the secular affairs of life, or even for the ordinary duties of the clerical function; but *his* mind aspired to higher learning, and *his* soul affected a nobler excellence. He went into France, and repaired to Poitiers, says Leland in his useful gleanings from some ancient life of him, as "a "city very famous for the number of its professors, over which did then "preside Hilary the bishop, that ornament truly great to divines*." Here, as Leland adds, "he laid himself out in every sort of attention "to the bishop, in order to procure his good opinion; at last obtained "from him that ordination on which his soul was so strongly bent; "and was even in proper time afterwards consecrated bishop by him†." His episcopal powers he exercised probably as a suffragan to Hilary in his diocese of Poitou; and continued with Hilary, I suppose, shewing all the reverence of a pupil to his tutor, and expressing all the piety of a son to a father, till even the health of a Hilary yielded to the siege of time, and old age terminated the long life of the prelate. Keby spent no less than *fifty* years with him, if we can believe his two biographers, Tinmouth and Capgrave, on a point so very extravagant in itself§. Keby must certainly have staid there many years; nor would any event, in all probability, have torn him away from Hilary after so long a con-

* Leland De Script. Brit. 65: "Galliam—petiit, et Pictonum invisit urbem, numero "doctorum celeberrimam; cui tum præfuit Hilarius pontifex, theologorum decus planè "eximium."

† Leland, ibid. "Gratiam antistitis modis omnibus sibi comparare satagebat; tan-"dem, quod voluit maximè, impetravit; idque tanto cum successu, ut episcopus ab eo "designaretur."

§ Usher, 105: "Apud quem [Hilarium Pictavorum episcopum], Kebium Britannum—, "per quinquaginta annos mansisse, graduque episcopali ab eo accepto," &c.

tinuance

tinuance together; except the very demise of Hilary. Then the principal attraction to Poitiers being removed from the heart, every object there reminding him strongly of Hilary, and a shade of mournful recollection being thus thrown continually over his thoughts; he cast his eyes back upon his native shore, and returned into his father's kingdom of Cornwall *. He came not however to challenge that royalty in it, of which his father had been possessed in his life, and to which he himself had a right to succeed on his father's death; having undoubtedly resigned up his right to his brother's family, when he went abroad, when he devoted himself to a studious life, when he dedicated his days to the work of the ministry †; and so escaping all that long train of miseries, which Meluan, with Melor, suffered from it.

The chronology of this period, indeed, is confessedly very obscure; but we do not use the lights that we have. Let us then bring them forward, and apply them to the history, for the first time. When Capgrave fixes the murder of Melor "at the very commencement of the "Christian faith *accepted by the Britons* ‡," he plainly refers it to the establishment of Christianity by Constantine, in the empire at large, and in this island as a part of the whole. He refers it therefore to the first fifty or sixty years after that establishment, so fixing it between the years 313—370. Within this period were those councils held, at which the bishops of Britain were present; that of Arles in 314, that of Nice in 325, that of Sardica in 347, and that of Rimini in 359 §. But in 358, Hilary bishop of Poitiers, then banished into Phrygia for his attachment to rectitude of faith, in his adherence to the doctrine of our Saviour's godhead; addressed a public letter to his brother-bishops of the continent and of the isle, expressing his joy to hear "they were

* Usher, 105: "In patriam suam postea remeâsse, referunt in ejus Vitâ Johannes "Tinmuthensis et Capgravius."

† Leland De Script. Brit. 65: "Majori literarum quàm opum paternarum studio "tenebatur."

‡ Usher, 241: "In ipsis Christianæ fidei à Britannis acceptæ primordiis."

§ Usher, 511.

"uncontaminated

" uncontamined and unhurt, by any contagion from *a detestable heresy*‡." Keby is also represented by Tinmouth and by Capgrave to have left Poitou and returned into Cornwall in 364§. And Hilary, who had been sent into banishment in 356, but was recalled from it in 360 or 361, died at Poitiers in 368 or 369‖. All these dates nearly coincide together. The adventures of Keby unite in general time, with the murders of Melor and Melyan. Keby probaby resigned up the crown on the death of his father Solomon, to his younger brother Melyan; staid not at Poitiers probably half the years assigned for his stay, such writers as Capgrave and Tinmouth measuring the lives of their saints, by an antediluvian scale of years; went therefore to Poitiers about 350, while his father was yet reigning, and when Hilary was made bishop†; acted as a substitute for Hilary probably, during his exile of four years from his diocese; so came back into Cornwall, in 368 or 369 probably. He came back, says Dr. Borlase from his authorities, " to exercise that high function of a bishop, with which he was invested." He came primarily to see his royal relations; yet not to retire from them into the solitude of a hermitage afterwards, *as he had not retired into any before;* but under the protection of their head to settle in a town, as he had settled at Poitiers before, and there to act under the Cornish prelate, as he had acted under the Poitevin, in the capacity of a suffragan. For these reasons, it seems, he settled about the middle of the long diocese, and at the town of TREGONEY, then not what it now is, a mere kind of village, without trade, without industry, without money, but a town of the first consequence in the county, a town of great commerce, a town of much shipping, a town of considerable extent, and as such, having *two* churches successively erected within it *before* this period. Tregony.

‡ Usher, 105: " Incontaminatos vos et illæsos ab omni contagio detestandæ hæreseos."

§ Usher, 512.

‖ Cave's Historia Literaria, i. 164, 165, edit. 1738.

† Cave's Hist. Lit. 164: " Pictavorum episcopus esse constitutus, circa annum ex Baronii " calculo CCCLV, nullâ tamen cogente ratione, quin annis aliquot ante id tempus ad sedem " Pictavensem evehi potuerit."

Tregoney was the *very first* town upon any branch of that fine harbour, which forms the principal pride of Cornwall; which excels all the harbours of the isle, except Milford Haven, for security of anchorage, for expanse of water, and for number of openings into it; which therefore lies like a vast Briareus, stretching forth its gigantic carcass on every side, and throwing out its hundred arms into the land around it. Tregoney was upon the main arm, even the denominating river; was denominated Cenia itself, while the harbour was called the Mouth of the Cenia; and the *southern* road of the Romans in Cornwall terminated at this Cenia, now Tre-*Geney*, or Tre-*Goney*, more properly *that* than *this*, as it is popularly entitled Treg'ney, the Castle upon the Cenia, now the Fal †. Tregoney was thus a town at a time, when Falmouth town, when Penryn, when even Truro itself, was not yet in contemplation for many ages; held possession of the river Fal with its harbour at the mouth, when it had and could have no rival; and so stood the original lord, the natural sovereign of all. Tregoney, indeed, is now deserted by the tide of its harbour, and almost even by the waters of its river. Yet that it once had the full, free, absolute enjoyment of both, is evident from a train of concurring evidences. Its river, the equal denominator of it and of the harbour among the Romans, is much more considerable in itself than the currents either of Truro or of Penryn; and *therefore* carries its name over them all even to this day, as they unite to fall into the sea together. But then, as ranging over a larger extent of ground, as particularly traversing the moors of St. Stephen's, St. Dennis, or St. Roche; it lay much nearer than they to the *stream-works*, and was much more exposed to injuries from them. Such it must have received very early, stream-works being the first mines of a country for metal, as they were for gold on the Doria of Great St. Bernard formerly ‡; and an ancient stream-work for tin being actually found about nineteen years ago, in St. James's Moor, at Tregoney, close to the current of the

† Richard, 20: "Urbes habebant [Damnonii]—Ceniam," &c. "fluvii apud ipsos præcipui—Cenius," &c. P. 40, Iter xvi. "Tamara, m. p. . . . . Voluba, m. p. . . . . "Cenia, m. p. . . . . ." Ptolemy also, in ii. 3, notes the Mouth of the Cenia, Κηνιος ποταμου εκβολη.

‡ Course of Hannibal over the Alps, ii. 183, &c.

Fal,

Fal, even *under the very walls of the original churchyard of Tregoney there*. And the mischief produced by these injuries of ages, has continued down to our own times in despite of two laws against it; is surveyed by the neighbouring gentry with an improvident sort of serenity, that foresees not the ruin of the very harbour itself in time; yet is strongly marked to the eye of historic curiosity, by a succession of the sea's recedings from Tregoney *.

"The *main* streame," of Falmouth harbour, cries Leland, "goith up "—*ebbing and flowing*, and *a quarter of a mile above* is the toune of "Tregoney. Here is a bridge of stone, aliquot arcuum, upon Fala "river †." Leland thus shews the spring-tide in his time to have reached within *a quarter of a mile* from Tregoney; while it comes not

* Statute 23. c. 8. of Henry VIII. "*Piteously complaineth*," as from "the inhabitants "of the towns and ports of Plymouth, Dartmouth, and Teingmouth, in the county of Devon-"shire, *Falmouth* and Foway, in the county of Cornwall, that where the said ports have "been *in time past* the *principal* and *most commodious* havens and ports *within this realm*, "for the rode, surety, and preservation of ships resorting from all places of the world, as "well in peril of storms as otherwise; *for* where, *before this time*, all manner of ships being "*under* the portage of *eight hundred tons* resorting unto any of the said ports or havens, "might at the low-water *easily* enter into the same, and there lie in surety, what wind or "tempest soever did blow——; which said ports and havens been *at this present time* utterly "decayed and destroyed *by means of certain tin-works called streamworks*——; that, where "*before this time*, a ship of the portage of *eight hundred tun*, as is aforesaid, might have "*easily* entred at a *low* water into the same; now a ship *of a hundred* can *scantly* enter at "the *half* flood, to the decay and utter destruction of the said havens and ports, and also *to* "*the ruine and utter undoing of all the good townes*—;" it therefore enacts a penalty on all persons who shall work or cause to be worked any stream-works, "nigh to any of the said "fresh waters, rivers, or low places, descending or having course unto the said havens or "ports, or any of them," of "forfeit for every such time that any owner or tinner shall dig "or wash, or cause to be digged or washed, any tin, contrary to the form aforesaid, x li." This act was confirmed by another in the 27th year of the same king, c. 23: "Because," says this second statute, "with the making of the said [first] statute, the inhabitants of the "said port-towns or havens, having little regard, respect, love, or affection to the amend-"ing and maintenance of the same towns and havens,—have permitted—the said owners and "diggers to persevere—, without any manner of suit commenced or pursued;" it *doubles* the penalty.

† Itin. iii. 28.

within *a mile and a half* at present. But we can trace this retreat of the tide to a higher period than Leland's. Tregoney, he says in another place, "is *at* the *olde* ful *se marke* ‡." A tradition, so loud as to engage the notice of a passing traveller, yet so sure as to leave no doubt upon his mind, and lend no diffidence to his pen; told him, that the sea not long before had risen much higher than within a quarter of a mile from Tregoney, and even reached up to the very bridge of Tregoney itself. But we can carry the flowing tide still higher up the channel. "Formerly," says Hals, who wrote about 1716, "the sea ebbed and "flowed *above* Tregny bridge and St. James's chapel, as *the shells and* "*sand there still to be seen*, and *tradition*, inform us §." The trumpet of tradition, we see, was still sounded in the ears of Hals; and his eyes confirmed the suggestions of his ears. He marked the shells of the sea, lying in the channel of the river, and bedded in their native sand. Nor need we to stop here. "Belowe Probus churche," says Norden, and should more properly have said, below Golden in Probus parish, but upon the opposite bank of the Fal, "is a rock, called *Hayle-boate Rocke*, "wherein *to this day*," about 1584, "are *many*" and "*great* IRON "RYNGES, whereunto BOATES HAVE BENE TYED; now noe show of a "*havcn* *." "This is," adds Mr. Tonkin, in 1733—1735, "a great "rock of a sort of dun stone, at the head of a pretty large level, full of "stream-work; which probably, together with them higher up in the "river, have choaked up the passage of the sea. There are no rings of "iron at present, nor the signs, nor places of any. One may, however, "judge from the situation and face of the country, that *the sea came up* "*here* †." Norden's testimony indeed is so clear, particular, and peremptory; that there is no *rational* possibility of doubting it. The rock too is a double one, a higher and a lower; two or three round holes (whatever Mr. Tonkin may allege) still existing in the *lower*, for the insertion of the rings, and two of them being close together, for the two fangs of a forked ring. The ground below is all a marsh up to the Fal, which is about two hundred yards off, and along both sides of a brook, that parts the parishes of Cuby and of Creed, *Cuby* as now written,

‡ Itin. vii. 129. § Hals, 80. * Norden, 61, 62. † Tonkin's MS.

but

but *Keby* as formerly written and now pronounced; the rock being on the Keby side, at the very extremity of the parish, and with its face to the brook. At this rock, said "the common tradition," in the days of Mr. Tonkin, said equally in the days of Norden, and *so says still*, were the boats fastened which plied upon the river, when the tide came up it to this place. This was so notorious an occurrence in itself, and the rock was so notoriously known to be the mooring-station for boats; that the very estate on which it lies, then and within these very few years all an uncultivated common, but now a range of enclosures, bearing grass or corn, adopted the appellation which it still retains, of *Hâl-boat*, or the Boat-moor; and that the rock itself equally took the appellation, which it equally retains, of *Hâl-bot-rock* *. The ground lies directly opposite to Golden mill, is continually occupied with it, but extends across the lane leading up to the church of Creed, and is vulgarly denominated the *Halberts*, for *Halboats*, at present. All these testimonies combine into one, and produce a collective kind of evidence, that fastens in a full conviction upon the mind. The Fal was navigated from its mouth up to Creed parish, by the commercial vessels of Tregoney; and the haven of Tregoney is still marked out, to the inquisitive mind. About a quarter of a mile from Tregoney to the south-west, in the lane leading to the *church-town* of Ruan Lanyhorne, and close upon the channel of the river, is a building of brick, divided into two houses, carrying a modern aspect with it, but bearing the significant appellation of "*Daddy Port*." This name significantly indicates by its meaning that primary port of Tregoney, which the river was sure to form for it below the bridge; *Tad* (W.), *Tas* (A.), *Tad* (C.), and *Daid* (I.), importing the same exactly as *daddy* itself imports in colloquial English at present, and pointing out this part of the river as the *parent port* of Tregoney. About a mile more to the south-west, in the same lane, but considerably within the parish of Ruan Lanyhorne, is a range of fields denominated *Bosawna*, the Bos Haun (C.), or the Haven-house, *haven* being constantly pronounced *haun* by the Cornish, and

* Nor are these names what they may seem to be, purely English; Hâl (C.) being a moor, Bâd (W.), Bad (I.), a boat, and Rok (A.) a rock.

Gorran

Gorran Haven, styled Gorran Haun by them. About a mile still lower down in the channel, beyond the creek that runs up between two parallel ramparts of hills, to water the narrow bottom in which stands Lanyhorne castle in ruins, with the parsonage-house flourishing in peace at its side, and the church rearing its head immediately over the latter; is a house called *Devora* or *Ar Devra Veor*, standing at the northern extremity of a peninsula, and on the southern foot of a round headland denominated Minit, Mynydd (W.), Menit (C.), a mountain, and lending its name to the field. This mountain unites with that peninsula, to project directly across the channel, seeming to bar all farther descent to the stream, and actually forming a basin most commodiously barred from almost all winds. These have also a house at the head of a creek just beyond them, denominated *Ardevora*, or more relatively *Ardevora Vean*, the Little, in opposition to the Great before; both the names being in Cornish *Ar Devra*, and importing the houses *upon the haven*. Nor let ignorance triumph in *supposition* at hearing these derivations, *fancy* another etymologist would fabricate another derivation, and so smile at the impotence of reasoning in producing etymons for arguments. Ignorance, like blindness, is very apt to apprehend pitfalls in the plainest ground, and in its conceitedness of *fear*, to prevent all possibility of conviction. But Leland himself speaks in this very manner, of both these houses: "Petite's principal house "was at *Ardeuerauian*," Ardevora Vean, "IN FALMOUTH HAVEN, by "the peninsula caullid *Ardeverameur*," Ardevora Veor †. And, to close the evidence at once, Leland adds in another place what carries the haven of Falmouth up to Tregoney itself; "from *Tregoney* to passe "*doune* by *the body* of THE HAVEN OF FALAMUTH, to the mouth of "*Lanyhorne creeke*, on the south-est side of THE HAVEN, is a 2 miles ‡." So apparently was the river from Tregoney to Ruan Lanyhorne and to Ardevora Veor, or Vean, even all the way to the mouth; considered even in the late days of Leland, as the haven to the seaport town of Tregoney. The vessels that went to sea, lay along these reaches of the river by Daddy-port, or by Bosawna down to Ardevora Veor, and lay securely moored in this land-locked haven of theirs. The tall banks of

† Itin. iii. 20. ‡ Itin. iii. 28.

the

the river on either side, point out the natural boundaries of the tide to this day, the breadth of its current, and the depth of its waters. And all this range of water is equally considered at present, even as low as Trefusis Point, to be within the port of Truro; Truro having risen upon Tregoney, as Falmouth has risen upon Truro since. But Tregoney had also, like London at present, another haven above the bridge; and, like it, for boats alone. These were employed, I suppose, in bringing up the cargoes from the vessels below, to the warehouses on the quay; and in transporting them higher up the stream, for sale. Those employed in the former work, would naturally be moored on the opposite bank of the river; and only such, as were engaged in the latter, be moored at the rock above. These, however, must have been very numerous, to give so significant a name to the rock and its common. But at Golden mill, opposite to it, and therefore perhaps claiming it still as a port of itself, was, what we now call in our pedantic affectation of French terms, a great *depôt*, a grand station for the landing and reception of wares, the highest that the merchants of Tregoney had up the river. The numerous boats belonging to this, were drawn up the brook at high water, were moored fast to the rock, and so lay out of the course of the navigation, or the current of the tide *.

* Mr. Tonkin observes at Hal-bot-rock, that "the sea came up here, and *much higher*, "according to the common tradition." But, upon this last particular, the voice of tradition speaks so faintly in its tone, and so loosely in its language, using only a vague generality of expression, and specifying no one point higher; that we cannot rest upon its testimony. Yet Charles Trevanion, esquire, of Crega, in Keby parish, procured an act of parliament in the 19th of Charles II. for executing a plan that he had formed in consequence of the tradition probably, and carrying the tide again "much higher" up, even "as far as "*Crowe hill* in *Saint Stephen's*." But he never carried it so high as that, never as high as Hal-bot-rock, and only a little beyond the bridge of Tregoney. His "first summer's work "seemed to favour his design, bringing the salt-water by *two or three* sluices *above* Tre-"goney bridge." But the floods of the following winter swept away his sluices, the walls having been built upon the mud, that had descended from the stream-works, and beaten back the tide. He therefore began again, and again encountered the same fate. He still renewed his efforts, however, "with greater skill, cost, and labour." He thus went on "for about "the space of twenty years." At last with sorrow and compassion we find, that he "*hath* "spent the greatest part of his fine estate; and given over his undertaking, as too difficult "and unprofitable an enterprise." (Hals, 81.)

In this happy position of the town for commerce, however, it began as a town from a principle much earlier in its impression upon the mind of man, than commerce. The military sagacity of the Romans, ever on the watch to secure the naturally defensible passes of a conquered country, saw the sloping side of Tregoney hill terminate in a prominence, with a high precipice on each side, and a brook uniting with the Fal under it. On this prominence they fixed one of their castles, which, like most of them, was rebuilt in a more modern form afterwards, of which the trenches were discovered in the rock on the north-west, about nineteen years ago, and the mount in the middle still remains, as what it is denominated, *the green hill*, to the present day; fixing here the last link in their chain of military communications on the *south*, because here undoubtedly was then the lowest ford over the Fal, and this current swept in one grand curve of deep waters before them to the sea. But, though military ideas predominated with the Romans, ideas of civilization always accompanied them, subservient indeed, yet still operative. A town constantly arose by the side of their castle. Here it arose on the level below the northern precipice of the castle, and along the banks of the Fal; as here was the inviting position for a town, and here the church of the town stood for ages afterward. Leland thus notices the town in his time, as one "wher yn is *an "old castel*, and *a paroch chyrch of S. James standing yn a more by the "castel*†." This is that church, to which the minister of Tregoney is even now instituted by the title of St. James's; as St. James's festival is also the annual fair-day of the town. That church indeed has been deserted since the days of Leland; only an angle of it has remained within the reach of memory; even this was thrown down about nineteen years ago, in a search for tin, and, among the graves that the searchers opened, *only one of them had an appearance of a coffin in it.* The first act of civilization in burials would be, to do as our sailors do at present, and as the Jews did to the very last*, to wind up the body in

† Itin. vii. 120. Norden, 64, says: "Tregny—or Tregeny—graced somtymes with "Pomery Castle, the *ruynes* wherof yet speake, as they lye *altogether rent on the topp of a "mounte.*" Worcester, 95, adds, "Castellum Tregheny *stat* (pertinet Pomereys) in "Trefeny burgagio [burgo] super le south."

* Acts of the Apostles, v. 6, 10.

some

some wrapper, and then deposit it in the earth; coffins coming into general use, I believe, only within these two centuries past †. What attracted the town to this level, must have been the convenience of the river, and the advantage of commeroe upon it. The advantage and the convenience accordingly operated so powerfully, that Tregoney grew up to be what tradition loves so fondly to tell it was, old age naturally soothing its present decrepitude with the remembrance of its youthful activities; and what my notices, previous or subsequent, confirm it to have been; a very considerable town. The quay formed an embankment to the river. Behind it ranged the town with its only church. A street of houses also, adds tradition, extended up from the level of that to the high ground east of the castle, and so began the town upon its present position, properly the High Town of Tregoney. Another street went on, as tradition subjoins, winding under the precipice of the castle, crossing the brook at the prominence, but not stretching directly on in the course of the present road to Daddy Port and Bosawna, because this was then within the channel of the tide; turning therefore up the steep hill on the left, and reaching to the present village of *Reskivias*, an asserted mile in length. What strongly corroborates this tradition, there is another at *Reskivias* itself, and two more at Ruan Lanyhorne, coinciding closely with it. The first is, that *Reskivias*, or *Reskiway*, was certainly a city. The second is, that *Trelonk*, a farm-house within the parish of Ruan Lanyhorne, ranging in its lands along the creek and the river, was formerly a city inhabited by a king; that this city reached to *Reskivias*; and that it was denominated the city of *Reskivias*, or *Reskiway*. The third is also, that the *church-town* of Ruan Lanyhorne, which is on the opposite or Tregoney side of the creek from

† The first coffin, I apprehend, was what is called a *shell* now in London; the word being the British *cafn* of Wales, a trough, a tray, any hollow vessel of wood or stone, as *caffnu* (W.) is to make hollow, *koffen* in Cornwall means the hollow of an open mine, as *covin* in Covinus formerly imported a war-chariot. So *coffin* at present signifies the hollow of a horse's hoof, of a paper case for groceries, and of a pie or a custard; while in French it means a basket used by tallow-chandlers. The British origin of the word, therefore, shews the Britons to have used shells. These were equally used by the ages since, even till the British coffin was closed at last into a modern one.

Trelonk, was equally a city once; that it equally reached to *Reskivias*; but that it went thither *along the present road to Tregoney*, and *extended up even to Tregoney itself.* These traditions are very remarkable, as they all unite together, and seem to be all substantiated by facts. *Reskivias* was assuredly a part of Tregoney. *Trelonk* was certainly a royal house, as its very name indicates; *Tre Long* obviously meaning the Long House, and Long House being in Irish the appropriate title of a king's mansion, as in *Long Phort*; while all the buildings of Trelonk-house are said to have constituted a village within memory, while many foundations of walls have been recently discovered about it, while a piece of ground, overrun with briers or brambles, was found about seventeen years ago to be black earth, four or five feet deep, over a regular pavement; and about forty-two years ago were discovered, what told to vulgar antiquarianism the existence of three smiths' shops, a quantity of cinders, with fragments of iron, at three places. And the *church-town* has still a triangular recess on the road to Tregoney, but just above its church, which appears to have been once a market-place, because it is denominated *The Cross,* because it gives the name of the *Cross-parks* to two fields adjoining, and the boys of the *church-town* still light their fires of Midsummer eve upon it, as at the ancient market-place of this acknowledged city. The truth is, I believe, that both the *church-town* and Trelonk became two terminating points to those buildings of Tregoney, which successively ranged from *Reskivias* to them in pursuit of the shrinking tide; that thus the buildings carried Tregoney up to them, in such a long chord of houses, upon the high grounds of the river on the south, as ended at Trelonk in some foundries for the iron of the vessels navigating along the river.

Yet the town shot out previously up the sloping side of its own hill, from the street noticed above; as a chapel was there erected at what was *then* the extremity of the High Town, and what is therefore the widest part of the present, the open area a little east of the castle-hill. This is mentioned by Leland thus, as "a chapel standing yn the middes "of the towne*." It was afterward, when it became no longer

* Leland, vii. 120.

necessary

necessary as a chapel, converted into a corn-hall; and, when a corn-hall became as unnecessary as a chapel was before, sunk under neglect into ruins, presenting a real heap of rubbish to my eye in 1777. But the opulence of the town, and the extent of its buildings, did not end here. It still pushed up the side of the hill from this chapel, so left it as it was in Leland's time, and as its site is at our own, "yn the "myddes of the towne," but fixed another chapel much higher up. This is equally noticed by Leland, as "at the est end of the town," which it also is at present; but is not, what Leland and every one call it, "a parochie chyrche *." It is merely, like the other, a chapel to St. James's church; a chapel for this eastern extremity of the High Town, as the other was for the western. *That* is thus, as a daughter-chapel, naturally and necessarily attached to *this* as the mother-church. Both, therefore, are exhibited as one, as the one church of the parish of Tregoney, in the last Valor, thus, "St. James and St. Keby, alias Tregney, "alias Tregoney, V.;" St. Keby's being mentioned second, as the daughter, and St. James first, as the mother, yet both as uniting into one parish-church. This church was appropriated to the monastery of De Valle in Normandy at first, but to the priory of Merton in Surrey afterwards, and to what was successively a cell to both, the priory of Tregoney, not evanescent yet from the town, though never recognised by it †. The church was thus deprived of all its great tithes, and has in land (besides the churchyard of St. James's) only what is reputed to be the endowment of St. Keby's, but is in reality the glebe-land of St. James's.

* Leland, vii. 120.

† Tanner. "The priory of Tregoney," there mentioned in 52 H. III. *just existed* opposite to the old mount of the castle, and shewed a door-case of stone, peaked in the arch, but has been very recently destroyed. Yet another doorway remains, almost opposite to the site of this, but less apparent, as less in sight, being plainly the front gate of the priory transferred to a stable, and, equally with the door-case above, shewing an arch of stone, a little peaked. This is, however, much larger than that was in the size of the arch, as that was only the doorway of the chapel; a niche being found in the wall there, and again built up in an opposite wall, for the reception of a small statue. In 1267, "the advowson" of this priory belonged to the abbey De Valle; but "this priory, with the advowsons of the "churches of Tregoney and Biry [Bury Pomery in Devonshire], were made over to the "priory of Merton that very year."

And the first Valor demonstrates all this to be true; not noticing the church and parish of St. Keby at all, speaking only of "*the church of* "*Tregoney*" as "worth cvi*s.* viii*d.*" and of "the vicarage of *the* "*same*" as "worth xx*s.* *." The whole *parish* of St. Keby then, as now reputed, is merely that of Tregoney in origin at first and in existence at present; *seemingly* separated from the parish of the town, by the burgensic privileges of the latter, and by the exclusiveness which these actually give it. The very *church* of St. Keby too, as equally reputed, is merely a *chapel* to St. James's church, used accordingly by Tregoney as its own and its parish's church, *now that* the tide has deserted the town, and commerce has removed after it; *now that* the original town and original church have resigned up the ground which they occupied, to revert into its natural state of a moor again; *now that* the long street from it to Reskivias, and the longer from Reskivias to Ruan Lanyhorne, have vanished with the palaces of an eastern tale; *now that* the other street, from the moor to the first chapel, has equally vanished, together with this chapel itself; and *now that* Tregoney stands, like some nobleman, reduced by a revolution to abject poverty, reduced equally in feelings as in finances, even stooping therefore to live upon the basket of alms handed to it by its parliamentary representatives.

Yet how came this last chapel, so exalted into a church in opinion, and so remaining in fact the only church of Tregoney parish at present, to bear the name of SAINT KEBY? In the most flourishing state of the town, I suppose, the saint settled at it. He settled not, however, at the original, the commercial part of the town. He had no concern with commerce. He settled at the eastern extremity of the whole, at that raised eminence on the hill side, which looked down upon all the rest, and which gave him at once the conveniences of a town with the sequestration of the country. He dwelt upon that very ground, I believe, which stands almost directly across the street of Tregoney, which accordingly obliges the road out of the street to bend upon one

* "Eccl. Tregony" (Cotton MS.), "Eccl. de Tregoni" (Spelman's), "Vicar ejusdem" (Spelman's).

side

side for avoiding it, and is now the very site of the church itself. Here he lived with so much sanctity of spirit, so much dignity of mind, and so much devoutness of aspect, I suppose, that his house, like St. Mawe's, was rebuilt into a chapel upon his death, a chapel now buried almost in the human mould accumulated about it, having the walk through its cemetery sunk very deep between rows of sepulchres on each side, having yet a couple of steps from the walk down into it; carrying, therefore, uncommon features of antiquity in this marking circumstance of its aspect, and being *the only chapel* that now bears *his name popularly for its own* through the *whole extent of Cornwall.* So usefully stands this chapel of St. Keby at present; to speak the large extent to which the tide of prosperity once flowed at Tregoney; to tell the early period at which it reached its highest point there; and to shew Christianity successively producing at it a church upon the bank of the river, a chapel upon the high ground behind, with a second chapel at the eastern extremity of the whole, and the very last at or about the *conclusion* of the *fourth* century *.

But, thus settled as St. Keby was at this principal town in Cornwall, he left Cornwall again so hastily, that Leland does not notice his return into it. He went away again in a few months after he returned; as his stay seems to have formed an interval in his life too minute for the naked eye of history in Leland, and only visible to the microscope of a saint's biography in Tinmouth or Capgrave: yet the fact is, that Leland *overlooked* what Capgrave or Tinmouth saw. The episcopal character in which Keby came into Cornwall, and the episcopal authority which Keby exercised in Cornwall, Leland transferred to a country in which Keby never assumed *that*, and never exercised *this*, merely by throwing his eye of history at a glance *beyond* the intermediate region of Cornwall. For that reason he represents Keby to have gone from Hilary and Poitiers immediately to North-Wales and Anglesey; sent thither as a bishop

* See note near the end of this section. This church consists of two parts, one original and the other posterior; the posterior is the southern aile, but the original is the northern, with the Lord's chapel projecting from it to the north.

by

by Hilary, even consecrated a bishop by him in order to be so sent*. But the representation is equally absurd in its manner, and false in its matter. It is certainly a splendid absurdity to suppose that a bishop of Poitou should send another bishop as a missionary—into North-Wales and Anglesey, regions replenished equally with Christians, and governed equally by a bishop as Poitou itself: it suppresses too the whole fact of Keby's return into Cornwall; but it equally suppresses the still more marked fact, which I shall soon notice, of Keby's migration out of Cornwall to St. David's and to Ireland.

There must have been some extraordinary incident to produce such a violent change in the conduct of Keby: to drive away a saint, a bishop, from this land of his father, this kingdom of his brother, to which he had returned after so long an absence, and to throw him into a strange country, an uncertain habitation, even *the new life of a hermit*. Such an incident we actually find in that dreadful revolution, by which all the bonds of nature were torn asunder; ambition murdered the sovereign of Cornwall, though a brother-in-law; and savageness first maimed, then murdered, a nephew. The sight, the hearing, or the apprehension of such enormities, might well carry the religious Keby in an instant out of the country. He went off, leaving such a strong impression of his goodness upon the minds of his countrymen, from his resignation of a crown and a palace for a life of studiousness, sequestration, and prayer, as occasioned them to enrol him on his death among the native saints of Cornwall †.

* Leland De Script. Brit. 65: "Ut episcopus ab eo designaretur; hâc interim injunctâ "provinciâ, ut Venetos," the inhabitants of Venedotia, or North-Wales; "et Monadas," the natives of Mona or Anglesey; "gentes Cambriæ versus boream patriæ [Britanniæ] "redditas, exemplis et sanâ informaret doctrinâ."

† The inhabitants of Tregoney keep his festival even at the present moment. This is unknown, indeed, to the very inhabitants themselves, who suppose they are keeping the feast of the adjoining chapel of Cornelly, in the parish of Probus, because Cornelly has its feast upon the same day, the first Sunday after Michaelmas. But the feast is pointed out to be St. Keby's by the concurrence of the parish of Kea, the church of which is dedicated to the saint of Tregoney, in the observance of the Tregoney day. "St. Key," notes Norden, 57, "—in recordes St. Keby."

In the want probably of a vessel bound immediately for that Ireland which was not yet converted to the Christian faith †, he shipped himself hastily, I suppose, on board one that was bound for Pembrokeshire, in order to remove from the bloody breach in nature, made, or likely to be made by that prodigy of profligacy, Rivold. He reached St. David's; he reached Ireland. He went to the latter, probably that his soul might not be shocked again with the enormities of nominal Christians; of men whom, from their enormities, Dr. Borlase would have readily pronounced to be heathens, if they had been of *Cornwall* instead of Devonshire, and to be actuated with all the persisting spirit of druidism. Yet the saint took refuge from these enormities, not in the abodes of infidelity, where the viciousness of the human soul was sure to swell into worse than the crimes of such Christians, as acting with the same violence, and feeling a feebler restraint; but in solitude and devoutness, in seclusion from the mass of mankind, and in attention to the continual though unseen presence of his GOD. He therefore penetrated, not into the country, but settled merely upon an islet on the coast, built himself a church, and continued four years *. At the end of these, he removed from Ireland, apprehensive, probably, of some visits from the infidels of the main land; yet went not back into Cornwall, which was still governed by the usurping murderer probably, but went into that Anglesey, to which Leland dispatches him at once ‡. Even then he came not to be the bishop of the isle, much less to be the bishop of it and of North-Wales together: he came only as he went to Ireland, as a hermit, accompanied by a small society of hermits; nor did he ever, in all appearance, set his foot upon one inch of ground without the isle. He crossed over from Ireland; he landed at that promontory which now is, which two hundred and fifty years ago was, the very point of passage

† Usher, 512, 513.

* Ibid. 411: "In patriam reversum Meneviam concessisse, et inde transfretantem in "Hiberniam, in quâdam insulâ, constructâ ecclesiâ, annis quatuor mansisse,—refert in "illius Vitâ Johannes Tinmuthensis."

‡ Leland De Script. Brit. 65, and Usher, 411: "Demum, cum discipulis suis inde rece-"dentem, in insulâ Monâ sive Angleseiâ consedisse, refert," &c.

out

out of Ireland into Britain ‡: there he settled at once upon the islet forming the most westerly part of Anglesey, and under Holyhead the most westerly part of the islet. There, adds Leland very usefully, "he "fixed his abode, and a humble one at first;" being merely a cottage, I suppose. "But the little king of the isle," a Christian and a friend to Christians, "in pity to the poorness of it, liberally presented him with "a castle, which stood in the very vicinity. In consequence of this "donation, a small monastery was formed within the castle, which "was afterwards called from his name *Caer Keby*," or Keby's Castle. "At this time," subjoins Leland concerning his own days, it has canons "or prebendaries in it, and exerts a pleasing hospitality to persons "passing over into Ireland §." Here he settled, and here he died; from the reverence paid to him here, as at Tregoney before, lending his name after his death to the church, lending it also to the village near the church, still attaching the name of *Holy* Head to this point of land, and even fixing the name of his preceptor or his friend Hilary upon another point of the islet *.

Such

‡ Leland De Script. Brit. 65, and Camden, 541.

§ Leland, ibid.: "Humilem principio posuit sedem. Regulus insulæ, ejus misertus "tenuitatis, castrum, quod in ipsâ erat extensione, dono liberalis dedit. Unde et ibidem "erectum monasteriolum; quo, ab ejus postea nomine, *Castrum Chebii* appellatum est. "Hâc ætate canonicos alit præbendarios, gratum in Hiberniam transfretantibus hospitium "præbens."

* Camden, 541: "In extremo—ad occasum promontorio, quod nos *Holy-head*, id est, "*Caput Sacrum*, vocamus, adsidet tenuis viculus Britannicè *Caer Guby*; cui Kibius, vir "sanctissimus, Sancti Hilarii Pictavensis discipulus, qui ibidem Deo vacavit, nomen fecit." Usher, 49: "*Caer-Guby*—in Monæ sive Angleseiæ promontorio quod *Sacrum* Angli "vocant, ubi Kebius, ab Hilario Pictavensi (a quo et alterum ejusdem insulæ *Hilary Poynt* "nomen accepit promontorium) episcopali gradu accepto, consedisse traditur." Rowlands, 144, intimates that this Hilary has been mistaken by many in the biography of Keby for the bishop of Poitiers, but actually stands for a similarly denominated saint of Wales; and Mr. Gough has been weak enough, in ii. 572, to repeat the suggestion. With the unthinking, authority is the Brasilian eel itself to rest upon, which is to attract the electrical stroke of torpor, and to feel its influence benumbing all the faculties: Mr. Gough has *thus* rested upon Dr. Borlase before, and is now come to rest *thus* upon Rowlands. The Welsh saint is called by Rowlands, "our St. Elian, sirnamed *Cannaid*, i. e. the Bright, by Latin "writers

Such was Keby, the son of Solomon king of Cornwall, and born about the year 325 *, about the time probably when his father was baptized an adult into the Christian religion, under the adopted appellation of Solomon; revered in Cornwall, revered in Wales, and worthy of all reverence throughout the Christian world †.

We

" writers called Hilarius, who—hath been often mistaken by many for St. Hilary bishop of " Poictiers;" and Mr. Gough repeats the impertinence, yet in this half-dubious form: " pupil to Hilary bishop of Poitiers,—*or* of Elian Ganniad, or the Bright, in Latin Hilarius, " who has still resort at Llan Elian." But, as *Ganniad* or *Cannaid* signifies merely *white* or *shining*, and therefore could never correspond with Hilarius; so no ancient writer in Latin calls Elian *Hilarius*, and no ancient writer in British denominates Hilarius *Elian*. " By our British writers," says also the late republisher of Rowlands's work, correcting the text in a note concerning Elian, " he is called Elian," *not Cannaid*, but " *Ceimiad*." The surmise of Elian being Hilarius indeed, was taken up originally without any reference to the accompanying *Ceimiad*, or *Cannaid*, and was then reprobated at once by Leland; he briefly commenting upon the Welsh appellation of " Llan Elian" thus, " Ælianus, *falso* " Hilarius." (Coll. iv. 88.) The fancy, therefore, seems to have been adopted in a mere temerity of supposing Hilarius of Poitiers to be the Ælian of Wales; and the adjunct of *Ceimiad* to the name of Ælian, seems to have been latterly altered into *Cannaid*, in order to support the temerity; nor could either Mr. Gough or Rowlands have *thought* one moment in this attempted transmutation of names. To shew this decisively, I need only repeat Leland's account of Keby's going to Hilary, and afterwards settling in Anglesey: " *Galliam* ergo *petiit*, et *Pictonum invisit urbem, numero doctorum celeberrimam*; cui *tum* " *præfuit* Hilarius *pontifex*, theologorum *decus planè eximium*. Chebius—tandem—impe- " travit,—ut *episcopus* ab *eo* designaretur—. *Deinde* et in *Monam* trajecit insulam."

* Usher, 512, fixes the migration of Keby to St. David's and Ireland in 364, and his settlement upon the isle of Anglesey in 369. But, as I have already shewn Hilary to have become bishop of Poitiers about 350, and to have died bishop about 368 or 369, Keby must have returned into Cornwall about 369, have migrated to Ireland about 370, and have settled in Anglesey about 374.

† " We have a tradition even to this day," notes the republisher of Rowlands's work, 144, " about this Cybi, that he used to meet St. Seiriol weekly, at a place called Clorach, near " Lanerchmedd, where there are two wells still bearing their names." But, as Mr. Gough tells us concerning the village of Holyhead, " near the extremity of the village stands the " church, *in* which St. Kebi—founded a small monastery," or, as the author meant to say, *to* which belonged a small monastery founded by St. Kebi. " His monastery was succeeded " by a college of presbyters," the *canonici prælendarii* of Leland, " founded by one of the " lords of Anglesea in the beginning of the 12th century," and dissolved soon after Leland wrote his account of it. " The church is built in form of a cross; on the pediment of the

We thus reach the topmost round of our chronological ladder; but we reach it not before we have ascended with Christianity in our hands,

" north transept is *Sancte Kyb. ora pro nobis.*" This shews the church to have been dedicated to him, as it still is, and as the original church therefore was. But why was Keby's little monastery called *Caer* Guby? Leland has enabled me in my text to answer very clearly a question that naturally arises to every mind, and has never been asked or answered before; even the relics of Leland's castle remain unsuspected to the present day. " The " wall of the *church-yard,*" says Mr. Gough, all unconscious of the *castle* while he is describing it, " are solidly built of stone *disposed herring-bone fashion,* entered by *an ancient* " *stone-gate,* with *a round tower at the north-east corners* next the sea:—it is *a square of* " 220 *feet by* 130; the *walls* on *three* sides 17 feet high and 6 thick; *the masonry of the* " *whole evidently Roman*: along the walls are two rows of round holes, four inches in dia- " meter, hollowed *through* like *those at Segontium,* and *merely plastered over.*" The last part of this extract is professedly derived from Mr. Pennant, " ii. 277," but is really derived from ii. 287, 288, has copied him too closely in one point, and has missed his meaning in two others. Mr. Pennant's reference to Segontium is just and proper, but Mr. Gough's is really ridiculous: the former describing those holes in the walls of Segontium, to which he assimilates these at Caer Guby, in ii. 229; but Mr. Gough never describing those holes at all in ii. 556, yet keeping up the assimilation in ii. 572. Mr. Gough also says, the holes are " hollowed through" the walls; but Mr. Pennant tells us, that there are some " which " pass *through* the whole *thickness,*" and others " which are discovered in the *end* of the " wall, and seem to run *through* it *lengthways*" (ii. 229); and the former holes, which Mr. Gough with a careless trowel has " merely plastered over," and so shut them up seemingly from the eye in their original condition, Mr. Pennant has " nicely plastered within." To this collection of the straws and feathers that float continually on the common stream of writings, let me add, that the church, now a donative, was thus registered in the Valor of Henry VIII.: " Ecclesia collegiat. de *Castro* Cubii." So plainly did the name of Castle continue to the period of the Valor! even as plainly as the remains of the castle are observable to the present moment. But " two rocks, with ruins of little oratories" on them, " opposite to the church, have the names of *Ynis Gybi* and Ynis Rug," of Keby and one of his brother-hermits, who here lived insulated at times from the petty continent of the monastery. Yet even here has antiquarian folly, that rankest perhaps of all follies merely literary, fixed the *see* of the bishop of *Anglesey,* of *North-Wales,* or of *both* (Usher, 49); and so turned the mere hermit, however social, yet still a hermit, into the prelate of a diocese. Only more absurd can be what Mr. Gough relates with great gravity, and without the most distant reprobation; that " Baxter," whom all *young* antiquaries admire, but who is in truth only the Merry Andrew of etymology, " derives Caer Gybi," *not* from history, *not* from tradition, *not* from that Keby in whom both tradition and history unite, *but* " from Caer *Corb,* Irish for *forces* or *troops*" (ii. 572). No man can ever be so simple, I believe, as not to have one equally simple with himself, and repeating his fooleries after him.

long

long beyond the coming of St. Petrock, long beyond the landing of Breaca, even up into the days of Keby and of Solomon; *this* the king of Cornwall, and *that* his son; *this* a Christian, the first king of Cornwall probably who was so, *that* a Christian, a clergyman, a bishop; but both existing *before* "the *latter end* of the *fourth*" century, *long* before "*all* the *fifth*," and *very long* before "*most* part of the *sixth*;" in all which Dr. Borlase dreams he "finds very many martyrs suffering "death for the Christian faith" in Cornwall, and in which *we* find only Christian kings, Christian princes, or Christian priests, all professing their belief of the Gospel together, all united in that belief with the great mass of Cornish commonalty; all as unanimous in their belief and profession as all the Cornish are at this moment*.

SECTION

* Let me note here a striking proof in Dr. Borlase, of his own unfixedness of mind as to his grand point, the peculiar obstinacy of the Cornish in adhering to druidism, and shrinking back from Christianity. Finding what "is plainly a *Cromléh*" in *Kent*, but what is also given by tradition to "Catigern, brother to Vortimer king of the Britans, who [whose "father Vortigern] invited the Saxons into Britain;" yet believing it "difficult to prove "that the Christians ever erected structures of this kind," though he has just before noticed one in Wales, with *crosses* upon the supporters of it (p. 226); he endeavours thus to reconcile the former fact with his general hypothesis. "If this tradition is true," he cries, "Catigern "*(it may be said)* was *likely* a Christian, and the people who erected this monument "Christians;" when he and they were *certainly* Christians, as appears equally from my accounts preceding, and from his confession immediately subsequent, "*Britain having* "*before this*," the middle of the *fifth* century, even "above *two hundred* years before" (p. 369), "*received the Christian religion*." But it must be considered that the Christianity "then among *the Britans*," at large, "particularly those of *Cornwall*," in *which* region he thus acknowledges *Christianity* to have been *settled equally as in the rest of Britain*, to the rejection of his whole hypothesis; but "from *whence*," he adds, in order to recover himself, "Vortimer came and succeeded his father Vortigern, who was advanced from *that* "earldom to be the general king of Britain:" history all false! as Vortigern was king of the Dimetæ in South-Wales (Hist. of Man. ii. 16, 17, quarto); this Christianity "*was so* "*deeply tainted with druidism*," an assertion, for the truth of which he offers not the slightest evidence, though he extends it over *all* Britain by his own confession, and over South-Wales particularly by his own argument; and this Christianity "exercised the great "abilities of the *Irish* saints;" *Irish* Christianity, though so fresh from druidism, not being tainted with it at all, "so long *after* as well as *before* this period," in that *Cornwall* alone, within which we have *hitherto* seen these saints employed by the Doctor; not (as *here*)

SECTION III.

Saint Columba and other Cornish saints early in the fourth century.

On Coyts.

I HAVE now swept away, with the powerful hand of truth, that fabulous multiplicity of martyrs with which the golden legend of Dr. Borlase has filled the calendar of Cornwall; and so filled it forsooth in compliment to the unyielding genius of the very druidism which had been beaten out of all its dominions to the east as well as north, but is credulously believed, in contradiction to a host of facts, to have retired into its impregnable lines in the west. Yet I must do Cornish druidism the justice to say, that it *was* in some instances most disgracefully unyielding, even *as* unyielding *as the druidism of the north or east;* and I must fix some martyrs for Christianity in the calendar of this country that are all unnoticed by the Doctor, but are regularly answered by others in other parts of the island. In doing this, however, I shall have the Christian satisfaction of finding that the number of martyrs made by druidism in Cornwall, even under the hottest paroxysm of hostility against the Gospel, is less, much less than it is represented by the Doctor to be: it is, indeed, very small; yet even in what it is, Britain in general, and Devonshire in particular, partake of the ignominy with Cornwall.

here) to rectify a Christianity tainted with druidism, but to convert from druidism to Christianity itself; that "*it is difficult to determine* whether we are to look upon Keith Coty-"house," in *Kent*, "as a druid or as a Christian monument." (P. 226.) The exclusive claim of Cornwall to perseverance in druidism, is here given up repeatedly by our author; he abandons his whole system for the sake of a temporary advantage; he confessedly makes *all* the Britons as tenacious of druidism as the Cornish; he indirectly makes the *Kentish* Britons to be peculiarly so; he even states the Cornish to be equal receivers of Christianity with the Kentish and with all the Britons. Yet he dwells upon his hypothesis at the very moment in which he is deserting it; and vainly tries, by falsehood or by sophistry, by incidents wholly untrue in themselves, or even (if true) forming no chain of reasoning, to derive the Kentish tenaciousness from the Cornish; a fact pressed hard upon him, he endeavoured to escape from its force, and he threw off his load of belief, in order to expedite his flight, yet struggled, out of a principle of shame, to conceal his conduct from himself.

The Diocletian Persecution, 303–312.

That last, that crowning persecution of the Christians, which broke out under the authority of Dioclesian on the 23d of February, in the year 303, and continued to rage through nearly ten years afterwards, must stand for ever as a strong broad stamp of blood upon the forehead of heathenism; to mark the brutality of its spirit, to expose the savageness of its efforts, in opposition to the Gospel and to GOD. It actually carried such a sweeping destructiveness with it, in the eyes of its very directors, that they could set up inscriptions recording their own infamy in displaying their own success; and triumph in their supposed extinction of the very religion, the very name of Christianity over the whole face of the empire *. In this tempest of violence, which broke out from the depths of hell, which carried all the malignity of hell in its fury, and is to be equalled only in all the annals of human madness by the more confined hurricane that has lately burst forth among the Christians of France, renouncing their Christianity, recoiling backwards into heathenism, and there finding its original rage against the Gospel; Aaron and Julius we know to have been martyred at Caerleon in Wales, as well as Albanus at Verulam. At the martyrdom of the last, particularly, the citizens of Verulam appear to have harboured a malignity against the Gospel that was very similar to Dioclesian's, and discharged itself in a very similar manner, "as a disgrace to Albanus's memory, "and as a terror to other Christians," so we find noticed in an ancient history of his passion; "inscribing his murder upon marble, and insert-"ing the stone in the city-walls," over the principal gateway assuredly, the entrance nearest the place of execution, and the access from London just under it †. In this persecution, too, we find some not yet held up to

* "Cluniæ enim in Hispaniâ, in pulchrâ columnâ hoc inscriptum legimus: *Diocletianus "Jovius et Maximian. Herculeus Caes. Augg. amplificato per orientem et occidentem imp. "Rom. et* NOMINE CHRISTIANORUM DELETO *qui rempublicam evertebant.* Rursus ibidem "est altera hæc inscriptio, *Diocletian. Caes. Aug. Galerio in oriente adopt.* SUPERSTITIONE "CHRISTIANORUM DELETA *et cultu deorum propagato.* Leguntur hæc etiam Arevaci "Hispaniæ, in columnis pluribus." Smith in Bede, p. 660, 661, from Gruter, i. 280.

† Camden, 293: "In hujus opprobrium et Christianorum terrorem, ut in antiquo ejus "agone habetur, Verolamienses ejus martyrium marmori inscripserunt, mœnibusque inse-"ruerunt."

to fame, martyred in Devonshire and Cornwall. We do not know with a decisive certainty, indeed, that *these* suffered like *those* in the last persecution, but the analogy of history intimates they did; nor could any martyrdom but one so recent at the resurrection of Christianity from its supposed sepulchre, its resurrection (like its founders) with new power upon its arm, and with apparent divinity in its face, have left memorials of the martyrs to direct the triumphant Christians in the honours which they paid to their memories, and to point out the very scenes of their sufferings for the sites of their new churches. Thus, Albanus at Verulam, Julius and Aaron at Caerleon, were remembered well to have suffered, and to have suffered at such particular places near their respective towns. The persecution ceased about November 312; and the Christians were restored to all their rights. Then, instantly, as Gildas has already informed us concerning the *whole* of Roman Britain, "all the pupils of Christ in Britain, *as after a long wintery night*, with

"ruerunt." See also Stukeley's Itin. Cur. plate 95. Camden's incident is derived probably from an author cited by Leland De Script. Brit. 66, 67, yet reprobated as spurious by Usher, 80, 81, but so reprobated upon principles surely too slight for the occasion. The account was, "Ex vulgari Anglicano in sermonem Latinum a Gulielmo Albanensi monacho "conversa," says Usher. This is *confessed by William himself.* (Usher, 81.) Yet *who* wrote the English, or *whence* the English was derived, does not appear, while the work itself challenges a much earlier date. *Against* that challenge, not an atom of argument is produced; in *proof* of the challenge, I need only produce one passage out of the author's own "prologus," as cited by Usher himself: "'Quisquis beatorum martyrum gloriosa certamina tentaverit ad memoriam revocare, necesse est, si tamen *evaserit*'." Alive himself, "'ODIA SUSTINENT PAGANORUM'." (Usher, 81.) For a character so ASSUMED, as Usher pretends it was, so unlikely to be assumed, as so difficult to be supported, no reason positive or probable can ever be assigned: yet what is more extraordinary, the character is supported regularly and invariably to the end, as my future extracts will shew. But let me prove the point here: "'Illinc'," says the author concerning the scene of St. Alban's martyrdom, "'inter cætera *multorum* relatione cognovi, qualiter vir sanctus'," &c. "'Omnem "rei seriem *diligenter inquisivi, didici*, et (ne *lateret posteros*) in hunc modum stylo "memoriæque mandari curavi'." This is, in short, that very authority, I believe, upon which Bede modelled his account of the martyrdom of St. Alban, differing in nothing, as we shall soon see, from a *British* account of it; but having particularly the same miraculous creation of a fountain at the scene of martyrdom, and the same omission of the name of St. Alban's converter, as this biographer of St. Alban has. (Usher, 80; and Bede, i. 7.)

"joyful

"joyful eyes receive the temperate serene light of the air of heaven; "rebuild the churches that were torn down level with the ground; *lay* "*the foundations of large churches* in *honour* of the *holy martyrs*; rear "them, finish them, and every where display (as it were) their victo- "rious standards." They constructed their churches in the west and south, equally as in the east and north, to the honour of the late martyrs, and with the names of the late martyrs affixed to them; they also constructed them with that addition of locality which constituted the principal part of the honour, which peculiarly affixed the name of the church, and was so necessary to the human mind in its full comprehension of the martyr's merits; a position upon the very ground at which the soul of the martyr had gone on his own flame of fire to paradise. Thus the church of St. Alban was erected upon the very hill, without the walls of Verulam, on which Albanus had suffered only a few years before; as the churches of Julius and Aaron were equally constructed at their respective scenes of martyrdom, without Caerleon *. The whole island, indeed, seems to have sprung forward at these happy moments, and run to shelter itself from heathenism in the fostering arms of Christianity; the citizens of Verulam, in particular, not merely removing from the view that inscription over one of their gates, which attested their shame in witnessing their murder of St. Alban; but even recording the

* Bede, i. 7: "Passus est—beatus Albanus—die decimo kalendarum Julianarum," June the 22d, "—juxta civitatem Verolamium;—*ubi* postea, redeunte temporum Christia- "norum serenitate, ecclesia est—constructa.—Passi sunt eâ tempestate Aaron et Julius, "legionum urbis cives." (Giraldus Cambrensis, in Itin. Walliæ, 836.) "Jacent *hìc* [at "Caerleon] duo nobiles, et post Albanum et Amphibalum præcipui Britanniæ Majoris "protomartyres, et *ibidem martyrio coronati*, Julius scilicet et Aaron, quorum uterque "ecclesiam *in urbe* insignem habebat suo nomine decoratam. Tres enim egregiæ *in* hâc "urbe, *antiquis temporibus*, fuerunt ecclesiæ, una Julii martyris,—altera vero beati Aaron, "socii ejusdem, nomine fundata,—tertia verò," &c. From the church of Julius "the "house of Julian took its name," *about a mile out of town*;—"the parish-church of "Lhânharan Gam (corruptly for Lhan Aaron) was dedicated to the last of these; and near "the church is a field termed Kae Aaron, Aaron's Field, to this day." (Arch. ii. 7; Gibson, 728.) "Julio—et Aaroni," says Godwin, 598, "—patrum adhuc nostrorum "memoriâ capellæ visebantur constructæ, quarum una ab orientali, altera ab occidentali "parte oppidi, *duobus* plus minus *milliaribus* disjunctæ erant."

triumphs

triumphs of their new-adopted religion in the very same manner, by inscribing square stones over the gates of their walls in a pious memorial of them *.

S. Columba. The church of SAINT COLUMB in Cornwall derived its appellation, not (according to the very natural surmise of Camden in all his editions before that of 1607) from Columbanus, otherwise denominated Columba, the Irish saint of the Western Isles of Scotland †; but, in the correcting strain which he judiciously adopted for this edition, "from "Columba, a very pious *woman* and a *martyr*, as now I have been with "certainty assured from her life ‡." He was so assured by Nicholas Roscarrock, Esq. a gentleman of family and fortune among the Cornish, and, what is more pertinent to the point, one celebrated by Carew, "for his industrious delight in matters of history and anti-"quity §," from a letter dated August the 7th, 1607. The church, says the letter-writer, "in truth—taketh name of Columba, a woman-saint, "who was a *virgin* and *martyr* ‖." It is accordingly called in the Valor of Pope Nicholas, "the church of Sancta Columba ¶;" the patent for the fair in November entitles her, "Sancta Columba, the *virgin*;" and the fair is now held upon what is styled in the patent, "the day of

* Leland De Script. Brit. 30: "Civitas verò Albani de tyranno triumphos portis ac "muris, in pium opus exsculptis quadratis saxis, inseruerunt. Cujus facti et Anonymus, "qui Vitas Albani et Amphibali *elegantissime* perscripsit, *Saxonibus paganis Verolamium* "*tum occupantibus* mentionem facit." The person thus mentioned with our martyr, even *Amphibalus*, is by some moderns, who are content to expose their own folly in exposing the falsehood of others, ridiculously supposed to have been merely the *cloak* of Albanus; but was the clergyman that converted him, noticed without a name by Bede, by Anonymus, and first named by Geoffrey of Monmouth, from some memorials in Wales. (Usher, 81; Leland, 6; M. Paris, iii.)

† Leland's Coll. i. 10: "S. Columba sepul*tus* in *Higeealand*," the Saxon appellation of Iona, or Icolmkill, the very *Hii* of Bede, iii. 4.

‡ Camden, 140: "Columbæ piissimæ mulieris et martyris,—ut jam certo ex ejus Vitâ "sum edoctus."

§ Carew, 127.

‖ Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 91.

¶ "Ecclesia Sanctæ Columbæ."

"Sancta

"Sancta Columba, the *virgin* and *martyr**." Nor is this virgin-martyr of Cornwall the same with the virgin put to death by Aurelian at Sens in France; as she has been conjectured by some to be †. The day of the French saint is the *thirty-first* of *December*, as Bede's Martyrology, the oldest (I believe) which we have among us, on that day notices "the passion of Sancta Columba, the virgin at Sens, under "Aurelian the emperor ‡;" but the fair of the Cornish saint is held on the Thursday after the *thirteenth* of *November*, and the feast on the Sunday subsequent to that. Our Cornish saint, indeed, was purely a native of Cornwall; Roman, like the virgin of the same appellation in France, like Julius too, or Albanus in Wales and Hertfordshire; yet British-Roman, the descendant probably of a Roman family settled in the country. Lives were accordingly written, we know, of St. Alban and of St. Columba *in the British* language §.

Verulam.

The town of Verulam, so famous equally in our civil and our ecclesiastical history, had shot up to a very high pitch of grandeur, and had even acquired the very rare dignity of a *municipium*; before the invasion of the Saxons ‖. But *then* all its splendour was overcast, and all its majesty was lowered, for ever; the same tempest of war, which levelled Silchester, equally levelling this, and both after an obstinate defence

* Hals, 59.

† Hals, 59.

‡ Bede, 460: "Passio S. Columbæ virginis, Senones [Senonis], sub Aureliano im-"peratore."

§ To those who love to mark the aberrations of the human mind, it must be amusing to observe Hals, 59, calling the saint by the name of Columbanus, in opposition to Camden's correction of himself; because now no such person "as Sancta Columba," or "no such "book extant" as this life of that saint, "I can hear of." Yet, in p. 67, he owns himself to be "informed, that the patron of this church is Sancta Columba." But after all appears the publisher, one Brice, a printer at Truro, afterwards a printer, bookseller, and author, at Exeter, with all that pertness which uneducated abilities are sure to give, with all that ignorance of reasoning which unassisted nature is equally sure to supply, and with all that tendency to scepticism, to which such ignorance, such pertness, are equally sure to gravitate as to their natural centre; sneering at both, yet finally coming back to the wrong.

‖ Richard, 36: "Municipia—ii. Verolamium et Eboracum, viiii. Coloniæ," &c.

 probably

probably against the Saxons ¶. From that period, Verulam and Silchester equally became a mere range of lofty walls encircling a mass of ruins. The state of Verulam particularly is exhibited to us in these lively colours, during the tenth century. "Ealdred the [eighth] abbot" of the adjoining church of St. Alban, says the historian of the church, "ransacking the ancient subterraneous cavities of the old city which "was called Werlamcestre, overturned and filled up all. But the rough "broken places, and the streets, with the passages running under "ground, and covered over with solid arches (some of which passed "under the water of the Werlam river, which was once very large, and "flowed about the city); he pulled down, filled up, or stopped, because "they were the lurking holds of thieves, night-walkers, and whores: "but the fosses of the city, and certain caverns, to which felons and "fugitives repaired as places of shelter, from the thick woods around; "he levelled as much as ever he could *." Such was *then* the state of Verulam,

¶ Gildas Hist. viii. shews, that, some little time before his writing, the scene of St. Alban's martyrdom was in the possession of the Saxons.—But another author, equally a Briton, equally a Christian too in heart and design, though not yet baptized, being born since the Saxons became possessed of the country, says thus of Verulam: "'Cives quondam Verolamienses, ob elationem cordis sui declarandam, qualiter passus sit Beatissimus Albanus in "muris civitatis suæ sculptum reliquerunt; quam sculpturam, *longo post tempore*, in muris "eorum *jam rimosis, et ad ruinam inclinatis*, inveni, *vidique mœnia præ vetustate jam "labi*'." At *what* period this author wrote, is plain from the following passage: "'Si quis "enim de nece martyrum aut de sanctorum gloriâ narrationem cœperit ordinare, mox qui "eorum felicitati invident *irasci, fremere*, et *ad mortem usque persequi, consueverunt*. "Inde est, quòd passionem Sancti Albani martyris, qualicunque stylo posteris traditurus, "operi titulum non præpono; malens tacendo nomen omittere, quàm loquendo nomen "*puriter et vitam* amittere. Quamvis igitur *insidiantium laqueis plena sint omnia*, sup"presso tamen nomine, *quid viderim, quid audiverim*, non tacebo.—Romam proficiscor, "ut illuc gentilitatis errore deposito, et *lavacro regenerationis adepto*, veniam assequi "merear delictorum." (Leland De Script. Brit. 66, 67.) The marble recording the murder of Albanus, therefore, had not been torn down, but turned with its face inward, as the inscription must certainly have been placed out of sight, and yet appeared in the gaping walls afterward.

* M. Paris, 994: "Ealdredus abbas—antiquas *scripturas* subterraneas," I read, antiquos *scrobiculos* subterraneos, "veteris civitatis quæ Werlamcestre dicebatur, perscrutatas "[perscrutatus], evertit omnia et implevit. Tracones verò et vias, cum mentibus subter-

"raneis

Verulam, and such it had *then* been for four centuries: the church of St. Alban all the while standing solitary upon its adjoining hill, and from the woody height of its own *Holm-hurst* commanding all the mournful scene of desolation! Yet the town of St. Alban's grew up, not (as might naturally be surmised) from the gradually attracted population of Verulam, for Verulam had no population at all, we see; but from a population invited out of the neighbouring country at once, by Ulsin, or Ulsig, the eighth abbot †. Then Eadmer the ninth, employing men to ransack those ruins again, "in the midst of the ancient city they "tore up the foundations of a great place," says the same historian of the church; "and, while they were wondering at the remains of such "large buildings, they found in a hollow repository of one wall, as in a "small press, among some lesser books and rolls, an unknown volume "of one book, which was not mutilated by its long continuance there; "of which neither the *letters* nor the *dialect*, from their *antiquity*, were "*known to any person who could then be found;* but the inscriptions "and titles in it shone resplendent in letters of gold." So early were *illuminations* used in our books! "The boards of oak," so old are books in boards! "the strings of silk," of such antiquity are silken strings to books! "in great measure retained their original strength "and beauty. When inquiry had been industriously made very far and "wide concerning the notices in this book, at last they found one priest, "aged and decrepit, a man of great erudition, Unwon by name; who, "knowing the dialect and letters of different languages, read the writ-"ing of the before-mentioned book distinctly and openly. In the "same manner he read without hesitation, and he explained without "difficulty, notices in other books, that were found in the same room "and within the same press. For *the letters were such, as used to be*

"raneis et solide per artificium arcuatis (quorum quidam subtus aquam Warlamiæ, quæ "quondam, maxima, civitati fuit circumfusa, transierunt); diruit, implevit, aut obturavit. "Erant enim, latibula latronum, vespillonum, et meretricum. Fossata vero civitatis, et "quasdam speluncas, ad quas quasi ad refugia redeuntes, malefici et fugitivi a densis silvis "vicinis fugerunt in quantum potuit explanavit."

† M. Paris, 993: "Pagum—Sancti Albanis et incolas, dilexit et promovit; ab partibus "circumjacentibus ipsum,—populis convocatis fecit inhabitari."

 "*written*

" *written at the time when Verulam was inhabited;* and *the dialect* was " *that of the ancient Britons,* then *used by them.* There were some " things" in the other books, " written in Latin, but these were not " curious; and in the *first* book, the *greater* one, *of which I have made* " *mention before,* he found written THE HISTORY OF SAINT ALBAN, the " protomartyr of the English; *which the church,* at *this very day,* " *recites and reads;* to which that excellent scholar Bede lends his " testimony, differing in nothing from it. That book—, in which the " history of St. Alban was contained, was reposited with the greatest " regard in the treasury of the abbey, and exactly as the aforesaid " presbyter read the book *written in the ancient dialect of England or* " *Britain,* with which he was well acquainted; abbot Eadmer caused it " to be faithfully and carefully set down by some of the wiser brethren " in the convent, and then more fully taught in the public preach- " ings. But when the history was thus made known (as I have said) to " several, by being written in Latin; what is wonderful to tell, the " primitive and original work fell away in round pieces, and was soon " reduced irrecoverably to dust*." This is a most curious, amusing, and

* M. Paris, 994, 995: " Fossores,—in medio civitatis antiquæ, cujusdam magni palatii " fundamenta diruerunt, et, cùm tantorum vestigia ædificiorum admirarentur, invenerunt " in cujusdam muri concavo deposito quasi almariolo, cum quibusdam minoribus libris et " rotulis, cujusdam codicis ignotum volumen, quod parum fuit ex tam longinquâ morâ " demolitum. Cujus nec litera nec idioma alicui tunc invento cognitum præ antiquitate " fuerat, quarum epigrammata et tituli aureis literis fulserunt redimiti. Asseres querni, " ligamina serica, pristinam in magnâ parte fortitudinem et decorem retinuerunt. De cujus " libri notitiâ cùm multùm longè latèque fuerat diligenter inquisitum, tandem unum senem " jam decrepitum invenerunt sacerdotem, literis bene eruditum, nomine Unwonam, quī, " imbutus diversorum idiomatum linguis ac literis, legit distinctè et apertè scripta libri " prænominati. Similiter quæ in aliis codicibus, in eôdem almariolo et in eôdem habitaculo " repertis, legit indubitanter, et exposuit expressè. Erat enim litera qualis scribi solet " tempore quo cives Warlamecestram inhabitabant, et idioma antiquorum Britonum, quo " tunc temporis utebantur. Aliqua tamen in Latino, sed his non opus erat: in primo " autem libro, scilicet majori, cujus prius fecimus mentionem, scriptam invenit historiam " de Sancto Albano Anglorum protomartyre. Quam ecclesia, diebus hodiernis, recitat " legendo. Cui perhibet egregius doctor Beda testimonium, in nullas discrepando.—Ille " liber, in quo historia Sancti Albani continebatur, in thesauro charissimè reponebatur. Et " sicut

and striking discovery, exhibiting a little scene of Herculaneum by an anticipation of some centuries to our eyes. It shews also the amazing ignorance of the British language, which at this period prevailed close to the very walls of that celebrated capital of a British nation; and the still more amazing knowledge perhaps in one divine, amidst such a general ignorance, concerning that language. But it equally shews the knowledge to have continued in one or more to, or nearly to, the very days of Bede; as he had procured a translation of it, or a similar work, from the British, two or three ages before this discovery of the manuscript, a translation "differing in nothing from it;" as the English, when reclaimed to Christianity, adopted St. Alban, the protomartyr of the Britons, for "the protomartyr of the English too," and as "the history "of St. Alban," which had been "recited and read" in the church of the Britons assuredly, became equally recited and read in that of the Saxons also*. And it still more clearly proves the martyrdom of St. Alban

"sicut prædictus presbyter illum antiquo Anglico vel Britannico idiomate conscriptum, in "quo peritus extitit, legerat; abbas iste Eadmerus per prudentiores fratrum in conventu "fecit fideliter ac diligenter exponi, et plenius in publico prædicanio edoceri. Cùm autem "conscripta historia in Latino pluribus (ut jam dictum est) innotuisset; exemplar primi-"tivum ac originale (quod mirum est dictu) irrestaurabiliter in pulverem subito redactum "cecidit annulatum." The site of this *palace* so stored with literature, heathen and Christian, remained conjecturally visible to the eye of antiquarianism, as late as the days of Leland: "vidi—locum, nunc obductum fruticibus, ubi probabilis conjectura est fuisse "*palatium* Verolamii." (Coll. iv. 168.)

* Bede, i. 7; and Usher, 81. M. Paris, 995, shews the account recited in St. Alban's own church, to be different in nothing from Bede's, though taken from the manuscript discovered at Verulam. Yet the account given us by Anonymus is just the same in substance with both, having the same creation of a fountain by a miracle on the hill of martyrdom, and the same omission of the name of St. Alban's converter; even being professedly the mere echo of that tradition, which would be sure to be formed from the memory of an account written by the pen, and recited in the church, before. "Quid *viderim*," says the author as to the ruined walls of Verulam, "quid *audiverim*," as to the traditional history of St. Alban, "non tacebo." (Leland De Script. Brit. 66.) He refers only to colloquial narration for his authority, as he also hints just before at his endeavouring to draw such narrations from the lips of persons around him, and so provoking the pagan masters of them all; "si quis—de nece martyrum—*narrationem* cœperit ordinare," &c. Nor can any objection be raised to this, though Usher, p. 80, has attempted to raise one, from the seemingly

Alban to have been written originally at the moment of restored Christianity, when the memory of St. Alban's townsmen still retained faithfully upon its waxen tablets, all that they themselves had seen of the sufferings of St. Alban a few years before †.

Just

ingly prophetic turn of a sentence. The sentence is *not* prophetic in reality. It is only in that tone of seeming prophecy, which *hope*, which *earnest* hope frequently gives to the mind of man; the *wish* that an event *may* be springing forth from the heart to the pen, and there forming itself into a *trust* that it *will* be. "Tempus erit," says the author, "*ut con-*"*fidimus*, quo religiosi viri, viri Christiani ad prædicandum gentibus venient in Britanniam: "verum tempus futuræ gratiæ *quando* futurum sit, *quia certum non habeo*, isthic hujus "lætitiæ magnitudinem *non expecto*."

† "Anonymus," says Leland, concerning the writer cited before, an author all unknown to scholars at present, yet writing at a period for which we peculiarly want authors, and highly praised by Leland, "vir non mediocriter eruditus, eo tempore floruit," that I have noticed already; "—et, quoniam Albani Verolamiensis—*clarissima erat apud indigenas memoria*, "omnia diligentissimè, *sed tanquam aliud agens*, didicit, quæ illi, vel usque ad mortem "invicti, pro religione Christianâ patiebantur. Cùmque jam probè instructus esset, cala-"mum sumpsit pingendæ historiæ non ineptum; ac operi longè sanctissimo ita incubuit, "ut nullus unquam Apelles gentilium deorum effigies meliùs expresserit, quam hic Albanum. "—Anonymi opus floridum, luculentum, venustum, vivit perpetuoque vivet." That Mr. Newcome should know nothing of this work, or, if known, should not dare to use it; is not to be censured. A reprobation from such a writer as Usher, acts with historians like a horse-shoe over the door upon witches, frightening all from entrance. Nor ought we to expect more than the common portion of courage, from men bred up in all the sequestration of studiousness, and consequently shrinking like hot-house plants before the blasts without.

But Mr. Newcome, erring in another way, and confounding the "little chapel *without* "the walls of Verulam, built formerly by the new converts in honour of this blessed mar-"tyr," with a "chapel" *within* the walls "called afterwards St. Germain's chapel;" says, "this church had been demolished by the [Saxon] invaders near 300 years before" Offa, yet, "this chapel—would tend in some degree to preserve a remembrance of him;" and adds, "it is likely that the memory of Alban lived only in Offa's time, in the report and "tradition of old people" (p. 25); when Offa died in 794, when Bede finished his history in 731, and Bede gives us a large account of St. Alban's martyrdom; when Anonymus writes his history about 590 before, and gives us an account just as large. Yet Mr. Newcome subjoins in the same strain concerning the discovery at Verulam, "this story hath "so much the air of a monkish imposture," though he acknowledges it to be related by M. Paris himself, "and of that affected reverence which they would draw to their *founders*," he means to their *saints*, Alban being the saint and not the founder of the church; "that I "have written it at length, as *a just specimen of that art which monks used*, to *sanctify*

Just so, assuredly, was the case with the Sancta Columba of Cornwall. An account of her martyrdom was drawn up at the same period, equally written in the British language, and equally recited in the church-offices of Britain. "Her LIFE," said Mr. Roscarrock in his letter to Camden, and by his language shews it to have been, like that of St. Alban, or like that of all other saints, much more ample than a mere description of her martyrdom, even to extend into a history of her whole life, "I HAVE IN MY HANDS; it was translated out of the COR-

"falsehood *or* novelty," a distinction strange in itself, novelty (if *not* truth) being falsehood in *facts*, "and often downright fraud and deception," fraud and deception as *crowning* falsehood. Here, however, is a positive charge of falsification brought, against all monks in general, and these monks in particular, for this asserted discovery of St. Alban's life. *Before* this asserted discovery, even *ages* before it, the whole of the life was known to Bede, and had been published by Bede to all the kingdom. What peculiar end of honour then to the saint, could be served by such an imposture and such a forgery? None certainly. Yet, in the poor spirit of Protestant scepticism, which believes every thing ill, however absurd, concerning monks, and which is fully as ridiculous in the eye of sober criticism, as monkish credulity itself; this author speaks boldly in the charge, because he speaks from prejudice; but then sinks into weakness in the proof, because he is dealing with reason. "*For* it is *probable*," he thus founding a violent charge upon a mere probability, that "Ælfric the Second composed this little history in Latin; *because* in bishop Osmond's breviary, "or mass-book, there is an office composed by Ælfric in honour of Alban" (P. 35.) The argument of probability here is just as absurd in itself, as it was before in proof of positive crimination. That Ælfric composed this history is *not* probable, *though* Ælfric composed an office. His writing the latter is no argument the most distantly probable, that he drew up the former. And the stone fortress of evidence for the discovery, is not to be shaken by pointing such a spear of straw against it. But, in fact, Ælfric only took the discovered history, framed from it an office for divine worship, and *set* this office *to music*. Ælfric, says M. Paris himself, 995, when chantor of St. Alban's, was persuaded by his brother then abbot, "ut historiam *ad notam* de Sancto Albano componeret." This M. Paris notices again, in 996, as "quam nunc cantator composuit historiam, et eidem *notam melicam* "adaptavit; et, auctoritate fratris sui archiepiscopi, multis locis Angliæ fecit publicari, "diemque ejusdem martyris honorari." This office, therefore, was used peculiarly at St. Alban's. Yet it was all taken from that very history, of which it is ridiculously brought to disprove even the existence; because that very history is noted by M. Paris himself again, as "quam ecclesia diebus hodiernis recitat legendo." (P. 994.) But we here see the word *composed* so early as this period in use, for setting to music; and Mr. Newcome deceived by the double meaning, to make a *composer* the very *author*.

"NISH."

" NISH *." This testimony is full and complete. The saint, whose life had been written in Cornish, must certainly have been a saint of Cornwall; as he, whose history had been written in the British of Verulam, was certainly a British saint of that town. Nor can the non-appearance of the original life at present be alleged against the existence of it; any more in the case of Sancta Columba, than in that of St. Alban. Nor can the denominated translation of *her* life be *therefore* surmised to be the real original; because the translation itself is non-apparent equally with the original at present, and the very existence of the translation may on that principle be equally discredited. The translation of Sancta Columba's life as undoubtedly existed in the hands of Mr. Roscarrock, as that of St. Alban's existed in the abbey of his own name, and in the history of our own Bede. But, as the original of St. Alban's life was reduced into dust from the dampness in which it had lain so long, by the time the translation was freely circulated; so that of Sancta Columba's was thrown aside, resigned up " blattarum ac tinearum epulæ," even at length lost for ever, from the translation of the Cornish into English, from the insolent triumph of the English over the Cornish, and from the Protestant indifference to the lives of saints, that prevailed equally with the English language, triumphing over all history, all gratitude, all reverence, in its Gothic spirit.

In the lives of these saints have I already tracked the steps of Christianity, moving in majesty over the subject empire of Rome, the Roman provinces of Britain, and the angular region of Cornwall. I have thus wound my way slowly, to her incorporation with the civil economy of nations, to her adoption and patronage among the kings of the globe. I have particularly reached the year 325, twelve years after the cessation of all hostility against the Gospel, and about the year when a king of Cornwall was baptized by the scriptural name of Solomon; just as one of the martyrs in the last persecution had been previously baptized, by the appellation of Aaron. The immediate predecessor of Solomon was the very king probably, by whose authority, under the edict of Diocle-sian, Sancta Columba was martyred. Accordingly we find a Cornish

* Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 91.

sovereign

sovereign residing in the parish of St. Columb, about a mile to the south of the church, and at a house still denominated *Tre-kyning*, or the abode of princes; a house, to which there is *a formal causey* yet apparent, from a remarkable fortress adjoining, a Roman camp originally, but the reputed castle of king Arthur afterwards, Arthur being almost as popular a hero in romance with the Cornish as with the Welsh *. At the extremity of the estate still belonging to this house, and upon the edge of the moor then adjoining assuredly to its demesne, the ground there carrying all the appearance of a moory enclosure to this day, being plainly a part of that watery wilderness of desolation, which is now denominated Goss Moor, which was even when Leland crossed it "a morisch ground, al baren of woodde †;" but was formerly covered with woods, as tradition reports the timber of the church of St. Columb to have been all cut upon it, and *therefore* carried the appellation of *Gosse* (C.), a wood originally, the reported scene of Arthur's huntings; remains a monument at present, apparently the tomb of a British king. This, in the language familiar to the Britons of Wales, is denominated *Coyt* ‡. Trekenning.

The

* Keann (I.), Kyn (W.), Kyn (C.), is the head in the human body; and hence Kyn (W.) in composition is the first, or chief, or excellent, Cyntâv (W.), Kensa (C.), Kenta (A.), Keann (I.), are first, and Cyn (W.) is a prince. Tre-Cyn-en (C.) would be the house of princes. In 3 Hen. IV. "Johannes Hamelyn tenet dimidium parvi feodi in *Trekinnen*, "Radulphus Darundle tenet dimidium parvi feodi in Trekinnen," both in the hundred of Pyder. (Carew, 43.) "Yea, tradition tells us, he [Arthur] resided at Castle Dennis." From Castle Dennis does "a stony causey, now covered with grass, conduct you up and "down the hill," on which the fortress stands, "*towards Tre-kyning*, that is to say, the "king's, prince's, or ruler's town." (Hals, 64.) The estate is now divided in two, and has two houses upon it, Higher and Lower Tre-kyning. The Higher was called simply "Tre-kyninge" in the very days of Hals (p. 66), and the Lower denominated "Tre-kyninge "*Vean*, i. e. Tre-kininge the *Less*" (p. 67). The ancient house on the Higher was pulled down, and another erected on the site, by "James Jenkyn, gent. attorney at law, temp. "James I." (p. 66); as the appearance of the modern building suggests, and as the settlement of the Jenkyns then in it confirms. Some slight remains of the old house still continue; but tradition reports the new to be *hardly a tenth part of the old in size.*

† Itin. iii. 12, 13.

‡ "Not far from this Coyt, at the edge of the Goss Moor, there is a large stone, wherein "is deeply imprinted a mark, as it had been the impression of four horse-shoes; and [it] is

Coyt on Goss-moor.

The top-stone of it too, in a strain of romance that accounts very satisfactorily for the name, is fabled by tradition to have been used by the devil, as the top-stone in some of the Welsh is equally fabled to have been used by Arthur, that equal proprietor of all extraordinary works among the Welsh populace, with the devil among the English; in the British exercise of quoiting §. The top-stone is the most striking part of the whole, and therefore the denominator of it; being a black kind of iron-stone, very hard, very massy, and no less than thirteen or fourteen tons in weight. Yet it has been raised by some power of mechanics, that therefore is supposed popularly to be all unknown to the present age, and to shew us in union with Stonehenge and Abury temples, our inferiority in one important region of physics to the rudest, equally as to the most refined of our British ancestors *. That some of the *Roman* or *Græcian* powers of mechanism may be lost, some of the *Græcian* sublimities or *Roman* refinements in the geometry of raising immense weights; is readily to be conceived, and easily to be conceded. "No one is ignorant of the toil and labour," says the sober Montfaucon himself, which "it cost the Cavalier Fontana, a celebrated architect,

"to this day called *King Arthur's Stone*. Yea, tradition tells us they were made by king "Arthur's horse's feet, when he resided at Castle Dennis and hunted in the Goss Moor. "But this stone is now overturned by some seekers for money." (Hals, 64.)

§ "From the oblate and spreading form of the upper stone, resembling *a discus*," says Dr. Borlase, very justly, as the form has certainly suggested the tradition; "this monument "is in *Cornwall* called by the name of Quoit." (P. 224.) Yet the tradition is not peculiar to *Cornwall*, any more than the form, being as extensive as the tradition concerning Arthur himself; *because* (what Dr. Borlase immediately adds) "in Merionidshire (Wales) also "there is one called Koeten-Arthur, or Quoits of Arthur; and another in Carnarvonshire, "called Bryn y Goeten, or the Quoit Hillock."

* Hals, 64: "How, or by what art, this prodigious flat stone should be placed on the "top of the others, amuseth the wisest mathematicians, engineers, or architects, to tell or "conjecture." Arch. ii. 272. Mr. Pownall: "It hath always been matter of wonder with "the vulgar, and a subject of disquisition with the learned, to conceive how these unwieldy "masses of stone, of a bulk and weight beyond the commonly known powers of man to deal "with, could have been moved, conveyed such a length of way as some must have been, "and how finally they were raised such heights. The one have imputed these effects to "magicians and giants; the others, to operations equally fanciful, though assuming the "name of philosophy."

"to

" to erect the obelisk in St. Peter's Place, which is yet to be seen there. " The design of the machine he made use of to effect it is engraved and " published, and is looked upon by our architects with admiration. But, " after all, what was this obelisk in comparison of *those colossal statues* " *of above a hundred feet high*, of the *colossus at Rhodes*, and even of " the *obelisk which is before St. John Lateran*, which *far* surpasses in " magnitude that of St. Peter, and which *would have lain prostrate to* " *this day*, had it not *been broken into several pieces by its fall*, which " facilitated the raising it again. But all these great machines are now " lost; so that, if any thing of uncommon weight was to be erected, " new machines and engines must be thought upon, the expense of " which would perhaps be greater than the work itself, though it fall " far short of those enormous buildings the ancients raised. These " curious inventions, I say, are all lost through the injury of time; and " nothing remains to us but the machines they made use of to erect " the obelisk and columns of the Hippodrome at Constantinople, which, " after all, is so imperfectly represented, that I question whether any " thing can be made of it or not*." These glorious inventions of the geometrical genius of Rome, or Athens, were undoubtedly swept away by that grand revolution in all the eastern and western parts of the globe, the subversion of the Roman empire; which turned back the sun of science many degrees upon the dial, and plunged all the arts in the gloom of midnight. Then such only as were calculated for the *reduced* stature of man, emerged from the gloom again; and the others were left to perish there, as adapted to purposes too great and gigantic for the new *pigmies* of the earth †. Yet, with all this ample allowance in favour

* Montfaucon, iii. part ii. c. 1.

† In Arch. vi. 59, Mr. Pownall notes a " rock whose weight is *twelve hundred* tons," recently raised out of a swamp in Russia, drawn upon rolling balls several miles by land, sent on a float to Petersburgh, and there disembarked to make the pedestal for a statue of Peter the Great, by the work of Count Carbars, of Ceffalonia; a work, adds Mr. Pownall, at the close, " which appears to me, not only the greatest operation of mechanics which " was ever effected in our world, but *unique*." *Penès authorem sit fides!* In Arch. viii. 444, we have this account, much less marvellous in itself: " The greatest work of this " kind," says Mr. Barrington there, " seems to have been the removal of the rock in

favour of Roman or Græcian machinery, I cannot extend one particle of it to the British. That a principle of mechanic power, which was known to the very Britons themselves in all their rudeness before the Roman arrival, should be effaced entirely from the memory, and wholly unconceivable by the mind, of the present generation of Britons, would be one of the most extraordinary incidents in the whole history of our island; would indeed be an incident of so miraculous a quality, as *not* indeed (according to the "insaniens sapientia" of some reasoners) to become absolutely incredible in itself, but to require the highest degree of evidence for it. The fact, however, is entirely different. We have common machines at present, that, by means of the screw, can raise 288 hundred weight, or more than fourteen tons; we have also improved machines, that, by an addition of four pullies to the screw, unite all the mechanical powers in one grand combination together, and can therefore raise a weight of 2400 hundreds, or 120 tons; yet the largest stone in that structure of the largest stones among the Britons, Abury, on the largest scale of estimation, is not more than seventy tons*. How practicable then was it for the Britons, even in a much lower acquaintance than what *we* have with the mechanic powers, to raise such stones as the coverers of our coyts, as the squared pillars and flat architraves of Stonehenge, and the vast monstrous masses of Abury? Yet, at the same time, how highly do all these shew them advanced in the use of engines with the screw, even under their state of rudeness, and before the coming of the Romans, to be capable of raising five times as great a weight as our common machines, and more than half as great as our improved can do!

Our coyt is formed of five stones, one covering, three supporting, and one buttressing, with a cove or hollow under the covering and

"Russia, which serves as a pedestal to the statue of Peter the Great. The engineer upon "this occasion was the Count de Carburi, who *took the advantage of a frost*, and with the "assistance of *four hundred* labourers brought it to Petersburgh. For an account of the "ingenious expedients which were also used, see the Count's own relation, illustrated by "engravings."

* Stukeley's Abury, 17.

between

between the other stones, now used for a pig's-house, just as the temple of Peace at Rome is made a fold for sheep on every Friday, the ancient and modern market-day of the Forum, but allowing three or four men to stand upright within it. The side-stone on the left or north is a spar exactly perpendicular, seven feet in height, and four feet six inches in width at the middle; the side-stone on the right or south is an iron-stone six feet eleven inches high, and three feet seven inches wide in the middle; the back-stone on the east is equally an iron-stone, seven feet six inches in tallness, and three feet three inches in width at the middle; and the coverer, which is equally an iron-stone, lies reclining from this along those, forming a declivity of 19 degrees 40 minutes from east to west*. I mention these little circumstances, not from an antiquary's parade of accuracy in petty uninteresting points, but to explain more clearly a peculiar incident in the construction of the whole; the northern corner of the back-stone appears to have broken off under the weight of the top-stone, as the latter was laid or was settling upon the former; and the top-stone now touches not the back-stone in that corner at all, resting only on the other, the southern corner. In consequence of the accident the whole weight nearly of the top-stone was *canted* off upon the adjoining side-stone on the right or south; *this*, finding *that* to press with a force which it was not calculated to bear, began to shrink from its original uprightness, and to lean considerably towards the north; it would have leaned very considerably if the eastern edge of it had not lapped over the southern of the back-stone, there impinged strongly upon this in its inclination, and been stopped by the resistance which it thus encountered: even with that resistance, it has come to lean no less than 16 degrees 30 minutes to the north, or two feet out of the true perpendicular. The whole building, therefore, was in the most imminent hazard of being soon off its poise, and the supporting stones were likely to be crushed to the ground by the covering stone. To prevent this, with the same skill and boldness which could raise such masses upon such supporters, which could also calculate the duration of

* How diametrically contrary to the truth, then, does Mr. Hals, p. 69, speak of it as "bending towards the *east*" instead of the *west*!

a structure

a structure so warping, and even rest secure enough in their calculations to work under the warping structure, a fifth stone was introduced into it, being thrust in behind the side-stone on the north, as a buttress to the northern edge of the back-stone. A stone was hastily chosen, tapering upwards in form, but about six feet in tallness, a kind of bastard spar, having two legs, a long and a short one, to it; the long leg was pitched in the ground, while the short remains above ground useless, and the body of the stone was then fixed reclining in a sharp angle against the edge of the back-stone, so as to compose a rude kind of powerful *arc-boutant* to it. Thus buttressed, the back-stone has remained between the supporting and the pressing stones, without any inclination at all to the north; yet with a projection to the west, the quarter on which it felt no resistance, of 7 degrees 30 minutes, or one foot from the perpendicular. Thus has the structure stood as firm as if no misfortune had befallen it, and is likely to stand till the end of time. Yet what is the design and drift of such a building? On this question antiquaries have been much divided, learning perhaps puzzling the intellect equally with ignorance, and good sense standing frequently a mute upon the stage, that erudition may stalk in declamations along it. It is *not* what it has been considered by the generality, an altar-monument for the oblation of sacrifices; the very aspect of it proclaiming to every eye which can see, and to every mind which can think, that such it could never have been: the very view thus becomes demonstration itself, and all good sense must have been buried in a quagmire of learning before it could have been believed to be such. It is merely a sepulchral monument, merely a mighty tomb, constructed at such a vast expense of manual labour, and with such high exertion of mathematical knowledge, to save the remains buried within it from all probability of violation, yet to honour the remains with a memorial equally conspicuous and grand.

That such a monument as this, which the Welsh antiquaries have recently taught us to call a CROMLECH, was not an altar, Dr. Borlase has argued with much force, yet not with all which the argument should

should surely have suggested *. Mr. Pegge, indeed, has written in opposition to the Doctor, but has adduced nothing that carries the weight of a straw in the balance †. The Doctor, however, has brought from the Louthiana of Mr. Wright *a positive proof* for the sepulchral nature of the cromlech ‡, a proof which the wary wisdom of Mr. Pegge has not presumed to encounter. To this I add *a proof equally positive*, and from Cornwall instead of Ireland, lying open to the public eye in such a work as Norden's, a work that unites with Carew to compose a *primer* (as it were) for Cornish antiquaries. "Withiell—a parish," cries this *Carew Redivivus*, "wherein one Gydlye *not manie yeares since*, "as he was digging [into] a borowe or burial hill,—founde *in the bottome* "*of the borow* 3 whyte stones *sett triangularly* as *pillers supporting* "*another stone* nere *a yarde square*, and UNDER IT A EARTHEN POTT, "verie thyck, HAULFE FULL OF BLACK SLYME MATTER, seeminge to have "bene THE CONGEALED ASHES of some worthy man," some man of worth, "THER COMITTED IN THIS MANNER TO HIS BURIALL §." This was a cromlech *with a barrow over it*, and therefore *could not possibly be an altar*. All the larger barrows in the isle, as the Carn Beacon of Cornwall, or the Silbury Hill of Wiltshire, have (I doubt not) such subterraneous cromlechs in them; all resting, as that rested, "in the "bottome of the borow," and covering a body burnt or unburnt below. Nor is *cromlech* the *native* name of these sepulchral structures, it being merely one used popularly in Wales from what was *seen by the eye* in some, the reclining posture of that top-stone *which had no mound upon it* ‖; while the *native*, the *general* appellation is obviously *Tumpath*, in Welsh a hillock, a knap, a *tump*; or *Tuma*, *Tuama*, *Tumba*, in Irish a *tump*, a sepulchre, a *tomb*. Thus we have "a round mount or bar-

Coyt in Withiel.

* P. 226-230. He has even been weak enough, in 228, to aver, that it was designed "first, on every side to fence and surround the dead body from the violences of the weather," when a common grave, all level with the earth, would answer this, and *more effectually*, than the superbest monument of stone.

† Arch. iv. 114.

‡ Borlase, 232, 233.

§ P. 70.

‖ Rowlands, 47.

"row

"row at this town," as Gibson informs us concerning Bala in Merionethshire, "called *Tommen* y Bala," or the tomb at Bala*: *Tommen* in Welsh signifying a hillock primarily, and (as here) a tomb derivatively. This, indeed, is supposed from its name, form, and situation, "not to "have been erected for burial," but for warfare†, when its very appellation shews it to have been for burial only: such appellations denote the *popular* meaning of the objects, and such suppositions betray the *learned* reference of them. The popular understanding keeps generally to the solid ground of actual appearance, and of immemorial tradition combined together; while the genius of learning mounts astride upon its witches' broom, and flies away to the moon. Barrows are denominated tombs in British, on the same principle upon which tombs are denominated barrows in English; because tombs for ages were merely barrows, and barrows were the only burrows or burying-places for ages.

Barrow at Inverness.

But let us pursue this thought a little farther. At Inverness we have the "strange-shaped hill of *Tommen Heurich*," says Mr. Pennant, and "—that singular *Tommen* is of an oblong form, broad at the base, and "sloping on all sides towards the top, so that it *looks like a great ship* "*with its keel upwards.*—It is perfectly detached from any other hill, "and, *if it was not for its great size,* might pass for *a work of art*‡." A work of art it undoubtedly is, notwithstanding its great size, and a tomb, too, constructed in the magnificent size of British art. "About "a mile westward from the town of Inverness," adds an author who published some years before Mr. Pennant, yet seems all unknown to him, "there rises *out of a perfect flat* a very regular hill, *whether natu-* "*ral or artificial,* I could *never find by any tradition;* the natives call "it *Toma Heurach:* it is *almost in the shape of a Thames wherry turned* "*keel upwards,* for which reason they sometimes call it Noah's Ark. "The length of it is about 400 *yards,* and the breadth at bottom about "150. From below, at every point of view, it seems to end at top in "a very narrow ridge; but when you are there you find a plain large

* Gibson, c. 793. † Ibid. ibid. ‡ Tour in Scotland, 1769, i. 137, 138.

"enough

"enough to draw up two or three battalions of men*." From all this the hill appears to be in the form of a boat, or of what is only a larger boat, a ship; is *therefore* not natural, but artificial; and has *therefore* also been denominated in Erse *Toma-heurach* or the *Curragh Barrow*, a barrow far exceeding Silbury Hill in size, being even the largest in the whole island. It must accordingly have been much admired by the Roman *ala* or wing of horse, once in garrison within the *Alata Castra*, on the site of the castle at Inverness, that little steep hill which adjoins closely to the town, and commands the pass over the Ness, then a ford, but now a bridge. "There is in *Perthshire*," notes Mr. Guthry, a Scotchman, witnessing a Scotch monument, witnessing *this* without any recollection of *that*, and actually turning our remark into a reality, "a barrow which seems to be a British erection, and *the most beautiful* "*of the kind* perhaps in the *world*: it *exactly resembles the figure of a* "*ship with the keel uppermost*. The *common people* call it *Ternay*, "which *some* interpret to be *Terræ Navis*, the Ship of Earth†." This, then, is another barrow constructed in the form of a boat or ship, and distinguished accordingly among the Romans themselves by a title that has no foundation in the Erse language, and is therefore a corruption colloquially transmitted of *Terræ Navis* into *Ternay*. The corruption is still retained in the Erse, as Tir (E.) is land, and Tir-mor (E.), or great land, is a continent; and as Naebh (E.), a ship, is even written Naoi in Irish. The Romans saw this barrow as well as the other with admiration, even named *this* from what they saw, and gave it a name which has been surprisingly preserved to the present day: so very ancient is this barrow confessed to be by its Roman name! so very ancient, therefore, are these ship-barrows in general confessed to be, by this in particular! Nor are these, we must remember, confined to Scotland; we have them equally in England. "Dr. Salmon," we are informed, "describes a barrow *of the same form* at Haltwisel, in Northumberland,

* Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland, 1754, vol. i. 277. The author's name (I think) was the same as his bookseller's, Birt, who returned to London, there lived till he had come to his last guinea, and then, with a horrible deliberateness of impiety that marks the last extreme of infidelity, coolly shot himself with a pistol.

† Guthry, 147, edit. 1774.

"upon an eminence above South-Tyne. The country-people call it "Castle-hill; but, as it is in no defensible shape, he," with all the folly of unthinkingness in conjectures, "supposes it made by the Danes, as "a memorial of victory," *a ship* a memorial of a victory *gained by land!!!* "*It bulged out on each side like a ship,* is" like a ship "contracted at "both ends, and," like a ship again, "is lower at the middle than at "the ends. Mr. Vine" also "describes *one of this form,*" we are told, "but only 130 feet long, in Sussex*." Even "not far from "Upper Stirthill, in the parish of Burton Bradstock, and hundred of "Whitchurch, Dorsetshire, and near the road between Dorchester and "Bridport," adds Mr. Hutchins, "is a vast barrow, called *Shipton Hill.* "It stands on an eminene, and at a distance *looks like a large boat,* or "*hull of a ship, turned keel upwards.* It is 749 *feet* long, 161 broad "at the top, and 147 high in a slant line. *It seems to receive its name* "*from its form,* and is 250 feet longer than Silbury barrow in Wilt-"shire†." But, as Mr. Hutchins subjoins, "Wormius speaks of them "as appropriated to kings, and peculiar to the earlier age, when the "bodies were burned ‡." The authority of Wormius is of little moment with me, upon such a subject. He knew too little of remains purely Celtic, to determine about their designation or their date. But here he determines with good sense in his favour. He recognises ship-barrows as existent in his own country, and existent only as the traditional barrows of kings. The size of the barrow, indeed, denotes plainly the grandeur of the person buried. And as the assimilation of the barrow to the keel of a coracle in form, must have resulted from some vapour of fancy that we cannot catch in our alembic of history at present; so does the assimilation itself appear upon the face of the Erse to have been very frequent in fact, because Gerach (E.) is a coracle, and *Curagh* (E.) *is a burying-place.* Yet all these coracle barrows were merely like the smaller that we have just seen, cromlechs covered

* Survey of England, p. 618, and Gentleman's Magazine, 1768, p. 384.

† Dorsetshire, i. 341.

‡ Ibid. ibid.: "Regios tumulos ad magnitudinem et figuram carinæ maximæ navis ex "iis quas possidebant fabricatos volunt. Mon. Dan. p. 42."

with barrows. Their magnitude shews this. They are peculiarly, therefore, the barrows for kings. For others, as the pomp of sepulture shrunk up in the shrinking size of the sepulchre, barrows contracted into mounts, and dwindled away into hillocks; long the nobles reposed under hillocks and the kings under mounts, yet both in chests of stone covered with mounds of earth, as at Withiel or Carn Beacon, or in chests formed above ground, and conspicuous to the eye, as at St. Columb.

But, to these two cromlechs for a king or a noble in Cornwall, let me add one for a noble only, even equally with both of them a sepulchre in Cornwall, and a sepulchre still more circumstantially than at Withiel, shewing the cromlech covered with a barrow. In the middle of that extended waste the downs of St. Austle, was what was called ONE BARROW. This waste, in 1801, was resolved to be enclosed, and the barrow was obliged to be levelled; the finer parts of the earth to be used for manure, and the rubbish apparent upon it to be turned into a fence. In this operation the single workman came near the centre, and there found a variety of stones, all slates, ranged erect in an enclosure nearly square. The stones were about one foot and a half in height, *apparently fixed in the ground before the formation of the barrow*, and *then covered over with rubbish in order to form the barrow*. The stones were all undressed, but had little stones carefully placed in the crevices at the joints of the large; in order to preclude all communication between the rubbish without and the contents within. Even the tops of the erected stones were regular in height; a circumstance of nicety in such sort of architecture, that I know not to have been ever found before, and that unites with the carefulness preceding to denote the *lateness* of the building. On the even heads of these was laid a square freestone, which had evidently been hewn into this form, which seemed to rest with its extremities on the edges of the others, and was about eighteen or twenty inches in diameter. But *the summit of the barrow rose about eight or ten feet above all*; being perfect in its parts both above and below. The enclosure, however, was apparently the principal part. Yet what was reposited in it? The leveller expected

Barrow in S. Austell.

to find the usual object of vulgar searchers, a pot of money. In this he was disappointed. He found, however, *a dust remarkably fine*, and seemingly inclining to clay. On the surface it was brown, about the middle downwards it took a dark chesnut colour, and at the bottom it approached towards a black. Nothing could be perceived in the whole, that bore any resemblance to sand; the enclosing stones having proved very faithful to their trust. What was this dust then? On stirring it up, *a multitude of bones appeared*, and betrayed the elements that composed it. The bones were different in the sizes, but none exceeded six or seven inches in length. Among them were some pieces about the largeness of a half-crown, which from their concave form convinced him they were the parts of a scull. The whole mass of bones and ashes, if put together for mensuration, might (he thought) be about one gallon in quantity. On touching the bones they instantly crumbled into dust, and took the same colour with the same fineness as the dust in which they were found. They were exceedingly white when they were first discovered, but remarkably brittle; the effect assuredly of their calcination in a fire, antecedent to their burial. Much in fineness and in colour with these ashes, appeared several veins of irregular earth on the outside of the enclosure; which from their position without yet adjoining, and from the space occupied by them there, he conjectured to have been bodies laid promiscuously upon the funeral pile, but which I conjecture to have been only the ashes adhering to the ground, and not possible to be separated from it, for a burial with the rest within the enclosure. They had nothing of sand in them, but seemed inclining to clay, and even more so (from the adhering soil probably) than the dust of the enclosure. And, as the workman was fully convinced of what every one else must acknowledge, that the ashes and the bones of the enclosure had once belonged to a human body, he very properly took up the whole with care, placed the stones nearly in their original posture within an hedge contiguous, then in building, placed also the bones with the ashes within their original enclosure there, and even placed the covering-stone over both. Such was the One Barrow of these downs, furnishing a decisive evidence for the true designation of a cromlech, for its having no sacrificial purpose whatever, and for its having only a funeral

funeral one; as actually topped with a barrow of earth, as actually containing a stone chest within it, as actually having ashes and even bones within the chest! Nor need I to say more upon the subject than to note, that the very mausolæum of Augustus at Rome was undoubtedly what it has never been surmised to be, *a barrow of earth upon a chest of stone.* This intimation will undoubtedly excite the surprise of my reader. Yet it is very true. Strabo himself shall prove the point at once. "The most dignified object there," he tells us, concerning the Campus Martius, "is what is denominated the Mausolæum, A BARROW "upon A LOFTY VAULT OF WHITE STONE, at the margin of the river, "but ALL COVERED WITH EVER-FLOURISHING TREES TO THE SUMMIT; "and *on the very point above* is a brazen statue of *Cæsar Augustus,* as "under the BARROW are the CHESTS of him, of his relations, or of his "domestics *." This account is very explicit, and this evidence is even express. But the barrow is now gone, and only the broad girdle of stone, that bound the base of it, remains. This forms the wall of a garden, on that flat roof which once bore the barrow; and the statue of Augustus, which once crowned the summit of the barrow, is still preserved to grace the centre of the garden. Thus what was once a magnificent cromlech, with a barrow above it, like the one in Ireland and the two in Cornwall, is now contracted into a mere cromlech, like our own at St. Columb; only more artificial, more elegant, and more magnificent, being a round tall room with deep recesses in the sides.

All unites with the name of Tre-kyning near that of St. Columb, and with the reach of the Tre-kyning estate up to it, to shew a British monarch interred under a monument of stones, then lying upon the moor, or within the wood here. Others were found in 1794–5, within the fields to the north-west, almost all spars, genuine or spurious. Others again, sometimes spars, but more commonly iron-stones, were also lying even to our own times, immediately on the east. And one, equally large with the top-stone, was very lately buried there, in a pit

* Lib. v. sect. 8. Αξιολογωτατον δε το Μαυσωλειον καλουμενον, επι κρηπιδος υψηλης λευκολιθου προς τω ποταμω χωμα, αχρι κορυφης τοις αειθαλεσι των δενδρων συνηρεφες· επ' ακρω μεν ην εικων εστι χαλκη του Σεβαστου Καισαρος· υπο δε τω χωματι, θηκαι εισιν αυτω, και των συγγενων και οικειων.

deep

deep enough to admit the passage of a plough over it. Nor let a tomb, that, however large and massy, yet carries such a face of barbarism upon it, be thought too rude, too gross for a British sovereign in the late days of Dioclesian; too savage in its appearance, for Britons so long refined by all the arts of Rome; and competent only for such of them as were prior to the Roman settlement among us. Reason would suggest this, but fact repels the suggestion. Reason is often interposing her verdict in history, and on points of really dubious authority ought to be respectfully heard; but only exposes her own airy impertinence, when facts come forward to oppose her. Such a fact we have in a monument near Aylesford in Kent, very similar to our own, and very similarly denominated; being just such a tomb, composed (as our own was originally) of four stones, erected over the remains of Catigern the second son of Vortigern, slain here in a battle against the Saxons in 455, and popularly denominated therefore Kitt's *Coty* House; thus erected a century and a half after our *Coyt*, yet just as rude and as massy as ours, exhibiting exactly with it

The rustic grandeur, and the surly grace,

of a primæval building of the Britons*.

But

* Mr. Colebrooke, in Arch. ii. 107-117, has written about this monument, till his judgment was lost in a labyrinth. Yet Mr. Gough, in his Camden, i. 231, chooses rather to wander about with him or with Mr. Pegge, than adhere to Camden himself. In Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 455, we read, that "Hengist and *Horsa* fought with Vortigern the king, "at the place which is called Ægelesford," Aylesford; "and *his brother Horsa was slain.*" This fixes the year precisely. "Secundum bellum [fuit]," says Nennius, *an author all unknown to Mr. Colebrooke*, "super vadum quod dicitur in linguâ eorum *Episford* [Elis-"ford]; et ibi cecidit *Horsa*, cum *filio Guorthigirn cujus nomen erat Catigirnus.*" (c. xlvi.) But Mr. Colebrooke says, 117, "allowed—, I think—it must be, that the Saxons remained "masters of the field;" though it certainly can never be allowed by any man that reflects on these words of Nennius, "Guortemir—*Horsam*, satellitem bellicosum, prostravit, cæteros-"que *in fugam versos* ut stipulas terræ allidit" (c. xlv.), or on the very course of Nennius's battles preceding and subsequent, the first on the *Darent*, at Crayford there (Sax. Chron.), the second at *Aylesford*, and the third on *the southern coast*. (c. xlvi.) Bede also says that Horsa was killed by the Britons, and that "hactenus in orientalibus Cantiæ partibus "monumentum *habet*," not "habuit" as in Mr. Colebrooke, 112, "suo nomine insigne." (i. 15.)

But about a mile to the east of the Coyt, on the very skirt of Castle-Dennis Moor, is a house and an estate distinguished by a name, that to a literary ear carries at once the sound and signification of Saturn's Temple. Accordingly we find this deity, the first in the *parentage* of the heathen gods, and the deposed father of that reputed sovereign of gods, Jupiter, retaining the appropriate appellation among the Britons, which he maintained among the Romans. Thus *Sadwrn* (W.) is either Saturn or Saturday, and *Zadarn* (C.) is Saturn only. Nor was the knowledge of this god communicated by the Romans to them. His worship was transmitted equally to both, from that common source of idol deities to the world, that great fountain of the bitter waters of heathenism, which was opened upon the nations of the earth in the days of Terah. Saturn's name therefore subsists to the present day, equally in the language of the extra-provincial Irish as in that of the Cornish and Welsh; *Sathairn, Sathurn,* being Saturn; *Satharn* or *Dia Sathuirn,*

Tresadern.

(i. 15.) Accordingly at *Horsted,* near Aylesford, is, what has been always "reputed to be "Horsa's monument by the people of the country,—a great quantity of flint stones, which, "by length of time, and the dripping of the trees, are overgrown with moss." (Mr. Colebrooke himself, 110.) *This* is a mere barrow, while *that* is a visible cromlech; both erected at the time by the victorious Britons, *that* noticed by Bede, a Saxon, while *this* is passed over, but both unnoticed by Nennius and the Saxon Chronicle. The first who mentioned the monument of Catigern, was Camden; and he mentioned it only as from that faithful repository of local antiquities, the tradition of the country. "Ceciderunt hôc prælio," he cried, "duces partium, *Catigernus* Britannus et *Horsa* Saxo, quorum *hic* ad *Horsted* non "procul hinc sepultus loco nomen reliquit *ille* magnifico elatus funere contumulatus *creditur* "prope Ailesford, ubi *vasta illa saxa erecta sunt,* quæ imperitum vulgus," men not led astray by the false lights of learning, "a Catigerno *Keith Coty-house* hodie vocat." (Edit. 1590, p. 248; edit. 1594, p. 245.) In vain therefore has Mr. Colebrooke attempted, with Mr. Pegge and Mr. Gough for his auxiliaries, to wrest this monument from Camden and from history. The arm of a giant could not wrest it. The arm of an infant, the arms of many infants combined, could not move one of these stones out of its place. The site agrees exactly with the battle, tradition concurs precisely with history, and the barrow of Horsa unites with the cromlech of Catigern, to appropriate all with uncommon decisiveness.

See also another author in Arch. xi. 38-41, who has written, like Mr. Colebrooke, without thinking.

At Kitt's Coty-house the covering-stone is a good deal less than the covering-stone at the Coyt, in weight; *this* being thirteen or fourteen tons, and *that* only ten tons seven hundreds. (Borlase, 224.)

Saturday,

Saturday, in Irish *. So thoroughly were our British ancestors acquainted with the name, through all the kingdoms of Britain and Ireland! The best and the worst of judges have accordingly united, in interpreting TRE-SADARNE, the name of a house in four or five parts of Cornwall, into Saturn's Temple. Mr. Hals notices our own, near St. Columb, thus, "Tre-saddarne, that is to say, God Saturn's Town, a "place where the god Saturn was worshipped by the heathen soldiers "[of Castle-Dennis], who probably had their temple or chapel there "before Christianity †." Dr. Borlase also mentions Zadarn, Saturn, *inde* "Trezadarn, Town of Saturn ‡;" having previously inserted Saturn, among the objects of British idolatry §. And with all this collateral support from the appearance of the god's name in so many of the British dialects, the appellation of Tre-sadarn plainly points at a building; not indeed a "town," as the Cornish are so unthinkingly prone to interpret their own *Tre*, thus catching the secondary idea of the word before the primary, the derivative meaning antecedently to the original; but merely a "house" appropriated to the god, and standing formerly on the site. Buildings vanish, but appellations remain; and *these* frequently come at last to be the only memorials of *those*. With such a memorial of a temple of Saturn formerly existing here, we see Tre-

* So *Sathairn* (Erse) is Saturday, and *Sadorn* (Armoric) is either Saturday or Saturn. All this shews us the folly of Pryce, who acknowledges no Saturn in the Cornish language, though expressly acknowledged by Borlase, and though appearing so evidently in the collateral British of Wales, of Ireland, of Scotland, or of Bretagné; who therefore interprets Tre Sadarn as Tre Cadarn, the strong house; and so ventures upon an etymology, that bespeaks its own reprobation. But "Llan Saturn," alias "Llansadwrn" (Rowlands, 351), the name of a *parish-church*, within the Isle of Anglesey, is merely what Leland interprets it, the church of "S. Saturnus aut Saturninus" (Coll. iv. 90). The saint's real name indeed is *Saturnus*. He is expressly mentioned in the Life of St. Wenefrid, who "Henth-"laut petiit ubi habitabat *S. Saturnus*; verba *Saturni* ad Wenefredam," &c. (Leland's Itin. iv. 137, 138.) He was a saint of *Wales*, and has therefore lent his name to a church in *Wales*.

† Hals, 64.

‡ Borlase, 464.

§ Borlase, 172: "We have—some reason to think them [rocks] dedicated to Saturn;—"*for* we have many places in Cornwall called Tre-sadarn—, and we have Nan-sadarn, "or the Valley of Saturn."

kyning

kyning, Tre-sadarn, and the Coyt, all uniting together to mark the establishment of heathenism, near the town of St. Columb; to shew us a heathen king residing at the first, worshipping at the second, and lying intombed at the third. Yet Saturn in all probability derived his name from that FATHER GOD of all the heathen idolatry, when the heathens "sacrificed to *devils* and not to GOD †:" even him, who like Saturn was the head and sovereign of all the devils, and was actually named so like him, as amid all the variations of languages, and with all the terminations of names, to be only transnominated from SATAN into SATURN; this confessed son of *Cœlus* and *Terra*, this earth-fallen angel of heaven retaining his appropriate name of *Satan*, or the enemy to the last; while his more ambitious son, the usurper of his father's throne, and even the maimer of his father's person, arrogated to himself the very appellation of GOD, and was denominated *Jehovah* or *Jove*. Such were the principal divinities of heathenism, all of them devils, and one of them, the arch-devil, acknowledging himself by name to be *Satan!*

The king of Cornwall then, the immediate predecessor of Solomon, but a Pagan himself, and a resident in the royal house of Tre-kyning, in consequence of Dioclesian's edict probably, ordered a young woman of the Roman name of Columba to be put to death for her Christianity. The scene of the execution he directed to be north of his own house, behind the hill that backs it on the north, and upon the very site of the present churchyard; ground sufficiently distant from his house, not to annoy his feelings with either the sight or the hearing of the deed during its transaction, yet rising higher than any immediately adjacent, even looking down into a steep valley on the north, and conspicuous from all the high lands beyond. Here the fatal fire was kindled, I suppose, casting its awful gleam upon the sides of the hills opposite, and carrying a strong terror with it to the heart of every secret but cowardly Christian*.

Here,

† 1 Cor. x. 20.

* Fire appears to have been then a common implement of martyrdom. So Bede says of the Sancta Columba of France, that, "superato igne cæsa est" (p. 460), when the fire could not dispatch her a weapon did. So likewise we find fire used in Polycarp's martyrdom

Here, too, was seen, I suppose, the virgin saint of Christianity, already a confessor, soon to be a martyr, looking down with a smile upon all that earth and hell could inflict, as eager to pass on the wings of hovering angels to the peculiar blessedness of martyrs in eternity. The flames encircled her, her body was consumed to ashes, and her soul flew undoubtedly with all the vigour of that eagle, which at the burning of the dead body of a Roman emperor was dismissed from the funeral pile "to mount with the fire into the sky, to carry the soul of the "emperor from earth to heaven, and so to begin his deification among "men*." She thus became *deservedly* deified so far among the Christians as to have her memory revered in solemn sadness, and her name pronounced with religious rapture for a peculiar saint of the Gospel; for one of the highest of all saints—a martyr; for one upon whom Christianity had shewed its strongest powers of magnetism, in raising her sublimely above the earth, and in attracting her to her kindred spirits in paradise. In a few years afterward her religion became the religion of the empire itself. Cornwall was broken into those divisions called parishes, which are so familiar to our minds as divisions formed for the sake of religion, but which were *never formed for any religion except the Christian*; an extensive region here was thrown into one of them, and the church of it was naturally fixed upon the very ground on which its own martyr had suffered: so the church of St. Alban was built on the scene of his martyrdom as soon as ever the persecution ceased†. The individual spot here, as at St. Alban's, was assuredly *within* the walls of the church, while the place of sepulture for her

(Russel's Patres Apostolici, 344, 348, 350, 354); but what brings his death to a near conformity with hers, the fire becomes subdued, and he is therefore slain with a sword (p. 354, 355). See also Eusebius's Hist. viii. 6, 8, 13; De Martyr. Pal. 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 431, 433, for fire so used.

* Herodian, iv. p. 156, 157; Edinburgh, 1724: Αετος αφιεται, συν τω πυρι ανελιτυσομενος εις τον αιθερα· ος φερειν απο γης εις ερανον την της βασιλεως ψυχην πιστευεται υπο των Ρωμαιων· και εξ εκεινου μεθ των λοιπων θειων θρησκευεται. See also Montfaucon, v. pt. 1st, iv. 9, plate 31, figures 3, xi. plate 32, fig. 2, where an eagle is bearing the soul of an emperor to heaven.

† Bede, i. 7: "Redeunte temporum serenitate."

remains

remains, as for St. Alban's, was at a little distance *without* ‡; but her name was certainly affixed to the whole, like his. A representation of her is known to have been carved in stone formerly upon the ends of the roof, and other representations appear to have been painted upon the glass of the windows, in which she (with a *Roman* allusion to her name) carried a *Columba* or dove in her hands §.

The saint of this church, therefore, must be acknowledged by all, though she is wholly unnoticed by Dr. Borlase as a martyr for Christianity among the Cornish; as a virgin put to death for the Gospel by the heathen king of Cornwall; as, indeed, one grand evidence of druidical malignity, impelled however by the malignity of a man who was noways druidical himself, even Dioclesian, against the glorious followers of our Redeemer. She has thus the honour of standing conspicuously forward upon the shores of Cornwall; that host of martyrs with which ignorance has crowded those shores, all vanishing away at her presence like ghosts before the rising day, and she herself appearing robed in the brightest beams of the sun. Yet she stands not alone; she is accompanied on her right hand and on her left with other martyrs, though none of them are Dr. Borlase's; all suffering assuredly in the same persecution, as, from the equal recentness of their sufferings, the lives of some of them were written equally with hers, and as they were all the children of one pair of parents.

Brechan, and his 24 children.

Leland selects the following notice from a life of St. Nectan, now, like that of Sancta Columba, I believe, lost for ever to the curious world: "Brechan," cries the biographer, "a little king in Wales, from whom "the district of Brecknock took its name, had by his wife Gladwise "*twenty-four* sons and daughters, whose names were Nectan, John,

‡ The body of St. Alban appears reposited *without* the church, "sub cespite abscondi-"tum;" and carried thence by Offa "in quandam ecclesiam ibidem extra urbem Verola-"mium, in honorem beati martyris constructam." (M. Paris, 904.) But the spot on which he was martyred was *within* the church, as the church was built "*ubi* martyr, *per-"cussus, sanguinem suum fudit pro Christo.*" (Ibid. ibid.)

§ Hals, 62.

" Endelient, Menfre, and Dilic; Tedda, Maben, Wencu, and Wen-
" sent; Merewenna, Wenna, Juliana, and Yse; Morwenna, Wymp,
" Wenheder, Cleder, and Keri; Jona, Kananc, Kerhender, Adwen,
" Helie, and Tamalanc. *All these sons and daughters* were afterwards
" holy *martyrs* or *confessors*, in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, living *the*
" *life of hermits* *." Giraldus Cambrensis, who took his journey through Wales in the end of the twelfth century, relates the very same incident, with some slight variations and some useful additions, thus: " There
" was anciently," says this traveller, the earliest *tour-maker* which we have in all the island, and the father of that long line of writers which has afforded such entertainment of late to the very indolence of amusement, seeking indulgence in reading itself, " within that region which
" is called Brecknock, a man powerful and noble for the ruler of it,
" whose name was Brachan, and from whom the land also was deno-
" minated Brecknock, of whom this seems memorable, that *the British*
" *chronicles* testify him to have had twenty-four [sons and] daughters,
" *all from their youth given up to acts of obsequiousness to* GOD, and
" happily terminating their lives in *adherence to their adopted sanctity*,
" as there are *yet many large churches* in *Wales* distinguished *by their*
" *names*. Of these one is in the district of Brecknock, not far from the
" head castle of Aberhodni, placed upon the top of a certain hill, but
" called the church of *Sancta Almadha*: for this had been the name of
" the holy virgin who, *even there*, rejecting the marriage of an earthly
" king, and marrying herself to the King Eternal, *triumphed in a happy*
" *martyrdom*. Her solemn day is celebrated *in the same place* every
" year, on the first of August, where, on the same day also, numbers

† Leland's Coll. iv. 153: " Ex Vitâ S. Nectani. ' Brechanus, regulus Walliæ, a quo
" Brocchanoc provincia nomen sumpsit, ex Gladwisâ uxore viginti quatuor filios et filias
" genuit, quorum hæc sunt nomina: Nectanus, Joannes, Endelient, Menfre, Dilic; Tedda,
" Maben, Wencu, Wensent; Merewenna, Wenna, Juliana, Yse; Morwenna, Wymp,
" Wenheder, Cleder, Keri; Jona, Kananc, Kerhender, Adwen, Helie, Tamalanc. Omnes
" isti filii et filiæ postea fuerunt sancti martyres vel confessores, in Devoniâ et Cornubiâ,
" vitam heremiticam agentes'."

" of

" of the common people usually assemble together from distant parts *."
But William of Worcester, writing from the very calendar of the church at Mount St. Michael in Cornwall, even repeating the same story with new additions, very usefully recites the names thus, and so gives us a second security for rectitude in a point peculiarly exposed to errors: " Nectan, John, *Sudebrent*, Menfre*de*, and Dely*an*; Te*th*a, Maben, " Wen*t*u, and Wensent; M*a*rwenna, Wenna, Julliana, and Yse; Mor- " wenna, Wym*i*p, Wenhede*n*, Cleder, and Kery; Jona, Heley, *Lanant*, " *R*erhender, *Adwen-helye* [Adwen Helye] and Tamalan*t* †." In this narrative there is some incredibility of *matter*, from the extraordinary nature of the whole; and an additional incredibility in the *manner*, from a variation of circumstances in the three relaters. Yet here we have one of those cases in which scepticism is compelled to fly before evidence, and history triumphs over incredibility. The first account is given by that best of all authorities, the biographer of St. Nectan; this receives what it does not want, a supplemental authority, from the particularity of its notices, and the specification of its names: it is again

* Camden's Anglica, &c. 826: " Erat autem antiquitus regionis illius quæ Brechineoc " dicitur, dominator vir potens et nobilis, cui nomen Brachanus, a quo et terra Brecheinoc " denominata est, et de quo mihi notabile videtur, quòd ipse [ipsum] 24 habuisse filias " historiæ Britannicæ testantur, omnes a pueritiâ divinis deditas obsequiis, et in sanctitatis " assumptæ proposito vitam feliciter terminâsse. Extant autem adhuc basilicæ per Cam- " briam multæ, earum nominibus illustratæ; quarum una in provinciâ de Brecheinoc, non " procul a castro principali de Aberhodni, in collis cujusdam vertice sita, quæ Sanctæ " Almedhæ ecclesia dicitur, hoc etenim virginis sanctæ nomen extiterat, quæ et ibidem " terreni regis nuptias respuens, Æterno nubens Regi, fælici martyrio triumphavit. Cele- " bratur autem solemnis ejusdem dies eôdem in loco, singulis annis, in capite Cal. Augusti, " ubi, et eôdem die, multi de plebe longinquis ex partibus convenire solent." She is also noticed by William of Worcester thus, with a little variation of the name: " Sancta *Elevetha*, " virgo et martir, una 24 filiarum reguli de Brekehaynoke in Walliâ—, jacet [in] ecclesiâ " monialium virginum villæ de Usque, et fuit martirizata super montem per unum miliare " de Brekenok,—et lapis ubi decapitabatur ibi remanet." (Worcestre, 158.) " Sancta " *Elavefa*, virgo, jacet in ecclesiâ apud Usque." (P. 160.)

† W. de Worcestre, 129, 130: " Nectanus, Johannes, Sudebrent, Menfrede, Delyan; " Tetha, Maben, Wentu, Wensent, Marwenna, Wenna, Julliana, Yse; Morwenna, " Wymip, Wenheden, Cleder, Kery; Jona, Heley, Lanant, Rerhender, Adwenhelye, " Tamalant."

corroborated

corroborated in its general import by the testimony of Giraldus, his cited evidence of British chronicles, and the Cornish calendar at Mount St. Michael. But it is finally confirmed beyond all reach of doubt by the remaining liveliness of *many* of the names in the parishes of Cornwall, where *many* of the persons are here said to have lived hermits, and to have died confessors or martyrs; where, therefore, *all* the names could not be recorded, Devonshire having a right to several, and Cornwall claiming only the rest.

S. Nectan. The first or principal of these, the first on the list as the eldest of them all, or the principal in our eyes, because his life gives us the original account of all, *Nectan*, was one of those who settled in Devonshire as a hermit, was honoured in Devonshire as a saint, and had even a church erected in Devonshire with his name to it. He was buried at Hartland, and at Hartland a church was constructed bearing the name of St. Nectan; originally collegiate for secular priests, afterwards conventual for Austin canons, but now robbed of all its possessions, reduced into a mere donative, yet still glorying in its relation to St. Nectan*.

S. John. (S. Eve?) JOHN, however, took up his residence in Cornwall, and in a parish that has been denominated from him. Its assumption of his name, however, has been so much disguised to the critical eye by a variation in the orthography, proper in itself, but concealing the identity, that, had we not been led by the history, we should have searched in vain for the origin: John being a Welshman, his name must have been written in his native language *Jeuan*, or *Jevan*, or *Evan*†. We have accordingly a parish-church in our deanery of East, which is called "Ecclesia Sancti *Ivonis*" in the earlier Valor, but St. *Ives* in the later, or St. *Eve* in popular pronunciation, and is well known by tradition

* Leland's Coll. iv. 153: "S. Nectanus—Hartlandiæ sepultus." (Tanner and Bacon.)

† Richards's Welsh Dictionary.

among

among the parishioners to have derived its name from the British appellation of John ‡.

ENDELIENT retired to another part of Cornwall, and gave name to another parish within it: this name is echoed back from the parish, without the slightest variation in the repetition. Thus, in the deanery of Trigge Minor, we find "Ecclesia Sanctæ Endelientæ," specified by the first Valor; then a church collegiate of four prebendaries, now the rectory of St. Endelien, with three prebends detached from it. And from the entry of the name in that Valor we learn, what we could not learn from either Giraldus's account, Williams's Catalogue, or St. Nectan's Life, the sex of this saint.

S. Endellion.

MENFREDE, } Appears from the same evidence to have been equally
MENFRE, } a daughter, and to have equally taken up her abode in Cornwall: she settled in a parish immediately adjoining to her sister's. In the first Valor, directly before St. Endelien, we see "Ecclesia Sanctæ "Minviredæ" noted; in the last we see it noted with a nearer conformity to the second appellation, "Mynfray, alias Mynforde, alias St. "Miniver;" as in a calendar belonging once to the monastic church of Bodmin, we find the day of "Sancta Menefreda, virgin, not martyr, "on the 24th of November *."

S. Menefred, or Minfreda.

TETHA, } Appears equally a daughter, and fixed her hermitage in the
TEDDA, } parish immediately adjoining to St. Endelien's; the three sisters ranging in a line along the sea, but at a little distance from it, east and west. Immediately after the church of St. Endelien in the first Valor, we have "Ecclesia Sanctæ Thethæ," a collegiate church of two prebendaries, now St. Tethe, a mere vicarage. It thus shared the common fate of almost all collegiate churches, their opulence marking them out for plunder, and their reduction now being in proportion to their great-

S. Tetha.

‡ Hals, 116: "As the parishioners tell us, St. Eve is a corruption of St. Ivonis in "British, i. e. John."

* W. de Worcestre, 108: "Sancta Menefreda, virgo, non martir, die 24 Novembris."

ness

ness before, reformation paring off all, that the grossest selfishness of worldly avarice would pronounce superfluous in the ministeries of religion, and so contracting the plump body into a naked skeleton. But, in this contraction, some colleges shared a different fate from others; St. Tethe's church shrivelling up into a vicarage, while St. Endelien's continued a rectory; because the anatomical knife of sacrilege, I believe, shrunk in fear at times from too keen an abscision.

S. Maben. MABEN fixed another hermitage a little to the south of all, and appears to have been one more of the daughters. We have accordingly in the same Valor, even under the same deanery, "Ecclesia Sanctæ Mabenæ," now the rectory of St. Mabyn near Wadebridge.

S. Marwenna. MARWENNA, } However, went away from the neighbourhood of
MEREWENNA, } her sisters, in a spirit, probably, of stronger abstraction from the world with all its ties, yet still kept within the confines of Cornwall. She went up into that angular part on the north-east, which was subdued by the Saxons long before the rest of the country, by its peninsular kind of separation from it, as it exhibits a much greater number of Saxon appellations for places than any other district of Cornwall, and indeed has hardly any Cornish left within it at present. There, under the deanery of Trigge Major in the first Valor, we meet with "Ecclesia de Marwentchurche," or "Marewen church," as the name is differently given by the Cottonian and by Spelman's manuscripts; but find it denominated "Marham church" in the last Valor, though dedicated to "St. Marvenne."

S. Wenna. WENNA, equally a daughter, rested behind all her sisters, as I suppose the landing to have been made at Padstow, the old port of passage from Ireland, the most commodious too from Wales, and set up her pilgrim's staff a little to the east of St. Columb. There, in the deanery of Pyder, one Valor points out "Ecclesia Sanctæ Wennæ," as the other gives us "Wen, alias Wenman," that is, Wenn's Place; *mann* still signifying *place* in Welsh, once signifying it therefore in Cornish, and this church at Wenn's Place being actually dedicated to St. Wenne.

A little to the north of her, about midway between her and St. Minver, with only that tide-river the Camel or Alan interposing betwixt them, rested YSE: but whether this saint was a son or a daughter I cannot tell. The record that has hitherto ascertained the sex here fails us; the sexual terminations of words in Latin not lending us any light; now, because either the parish is omitted, as then making a part of another, or it is mentioned under its secular, and not its sainted name. Nor can the other Valor assist us, denominating the church "St. Esye, "alias Isye, alias Ithy," but concealing the sex under the ambiguity of the English language. S. Yse, or Ithy.

Yet MORWENNA went away with her sister of nearly the same appellation, Merewenna or Marwenna, into the contracted angle of Cornwall, on the north-east. There, some miles to the north of Marham church, and at the *apex* of the angle, we have what is denominated by the first Valor, without any express specification of the saint, yet with a secret reference to her, "Ecclesia de Morewynstow;" in the encroachments of the Saxon upon the Cornish of this peninsula, the parish having adopted the name of its saint with a Saxon word like Padstow for its own name, and so being denominated Morewyn's *Stow* or Place. We thus see it equally denominated "Morwinstow" in the last, and know it to be dedicated to "St. Morvenna;" and as Morwenna went to the very point of the angle of Cornwall, so Nectan, her elder brother, passed into the adjoining part of Devonshire, even up to Hartland there. S. Morwenna.

CLEDER appears to have been a son, and to have taken his stand much more to the south than either of these two sisters, only a few miles to the east of his sister Tedda or Tetha. There we find in the first Valor, "Ecclesia de Cledery," as the name is read in the Cotton MS. but "Ecclesia Sancti Cledredi," as it is more specifically read in Spelman's; yet the "Cleder" of the second Valor is known to be dedicated to St. Clether, being popularly denominated St. Clether itself at present. S. Cleder.

KERI retired a little to the east of St. Clether, I suppose, and HELIE staid in the vicinity of St. Mabyn, I apprehend. In the deanery of S. Keri.

Trigge Major, the first Valor exhibits "Capella de Egloskery," or "Egloskyry," and the second the curacy of "Egloskorry," now denominated "Egloskerry," yet so denominated as the church of Keri. S. Helie. *That* Valor equally exhibits "Ecclesia de Eglosheil," and *this* the vicarage of "Egloshele;" a name in which the personal appellation of the saint, and the Cornish term for a church, are equally as in the former incorporated together, to constitute the common title of the church and parish; but of which the literal signification, when it is reduced to its constituent parts again, is merely the church of Hele or Helie *.

S. Adwen. ADWEN settled very near to St. Teth, and a little on the east: there we have the parish of "Advent," now dedicated to "St. Adven," but united with "Lanteglos juxta Camelford." This "is called Advent," cries poor Mr. Hals, who commenced his course of *Sisyphian* toil with this parish, "from Advent Sunday (on which probably it was conse-"crated and dedicated to God, *in the name of St. Anne*, by the bishop "of Exon), viz. the nearest to the feast of St. Andrew, and refers to "the coming of Christ, Advent being derived from the Latin word "*adventus*, a coming or arrival;" and, as the sentence ran originally because it now runs in the manuscript, before the publisher presumed to curtail and change it in printing, "Advent pro adveniat, synonimous "with προσερχομαι, proserchomai, adveni*ens*, answerable to the Hebrew "קרב Ba approprinquo, to approach or to arrive, to draw near." I thus exhibit Mr. Hals, with all his erudition (as he thought it) waving in a crest of honour upon his head, and really (as my reader will think) with his cock's-comb cap of folly pricking up its asses ears at the sides. What the name of the parish means is very obvious to common sense; however Mr. Hals in his learning may be puzzled to discover it: the appellation is merely personal, and that of the church's saint, and I have pointed out the very person who bore it †.

S. Jona. * Jona, I suspect, had a chapel at Lan-yon, in Gwinear parish; *Lan-yon* naturally meaning the *church of Jona*.

† William reads "Adwen-helye" as one name, because he has interpolated "Helie" before, and would otherwise have had one saint too many for his number.

But

But we have one name more to be appropriated; what is written "Kanane" in Leland, being LANANT in William. This is the name of a parish at present, which we have colloquially corrupted into Lalant; which we had so corrupted long enough before Henry's Valor, for the Valor itself to adopt the false appellation, but which is written in its original orthography by the earlier Valor, as "Ecclesia de Lananta." From the termination of this, too, the saint appears to have been a female; who settled more to the west than any of her brothers or sisters, and lent her name to that church, which carried afterwards as a prefix the appellation of another saint, Uny, who lived and died in the parish at a later period *. S. Lanant.

We thus find very many of these sainted names still resounding in Cornwall, still affixed to our churches, and still retained by our parishes: the others have either been lost in the lapse of ages since, or have their names disguised to us by false readings, or are referrible to Devonshire entirely. All of these saints, says the primary narrative above, were either confessors or martyrs for Christianity in Cornwall and in Devonshire. Nectan we particularly know to have been a martyr; but then he was a martyr where he was buried, at Hartland, in Devonshire †. Others

* "Ewny, alias Uny, Lalant cum S. Jesse, alias S. Ives." (Henry's Valor.)

† Leland's Coll. iv. 153: "Nectanus martyr Hartlandiæ sepultus." William, 130, 131, speaks thus of Nectan: "Sicut—primogenitus fuit, ita cæteris omnibus honestate vitæ "major fuit, et prodigiorum *choruscate* excellentior, extitit.—Venerandus vir Nectanus, "per quæque nemorosa," plunging into all the thick parts of the woodland, "dispendia "investigando querere," seeking and searching out the circuitous ways in it, as flying from persecutors, "ab iis repertus latronibus," was at last discovered by the cut-throats who were in quest of him, "in loco qui adhuc hodie dicitur Nova Villa," Newton, "ibi jam "ecclesia in ejus honorem construitur," a mere chapel, I presume, "15 kal. Julii capite "truncatus est; et caput suum propriis accipiens manibus, per medium ferme spacii sta-"dium," for half a furlong, "usque ad fontem quo morabatur," which is at the abbey, I believe, and from which he had plunged into the thick parts of the wood, "detulerit; "ibique sanguine [sanguineo] circumlinitum sudori," bedewed all over with a sweat of blood, "cuidam lapidi imposuit; cujus adhuc cædis et miraculi, sanguinolenta in eodem "lapide remanent vestigia." These marks probably were made at first, in mere commemoration of the traditionary incident, and were afterwards appealed to in the forgetfulness of ignorance as proofs of its truth.

of them were equally martyrs in Cornwall. His or their martyrdom, therefore, proves *not* the later establishment of Christianity in Cornwall than in Devonshire, proves indeed the equal non-establishment of it at the time in both; and proves the druidism of Devonshire, if druidism had been primarily concerned in the business, to have been just as malignant to the Gospel as the druidism of Cornwall. Giraldus also shews us a sister to all these saints, even in the Welsh principality of her and their father, put to death by a king whose honourable suit she had rejected, and so made a martyr for the Gospel in Wales. They all therefore came into Cornwall, probably on the murder of their sister, certainly at a period when Christianity was both professed and persecuted; professed by some, but persecuted by others; professed by the little king of Brecknockshire, but persecuted from a personal dislike to one individual by a superior sovereign. This persecution had begun in a paroxysm of rage, and burst out into the martyrdom of the king's daughter; but probably was extending its rage and directing its bursts steadily against her sisters or brothers, all equally Christian with herself, all involved certainly in her religion, all sharing probably by imputation in her rejection of the king. They therefore agreed to leave Wales together, to retire into Cornwall, so to fly beyond the reach of the murderous tyrant. They thus retired to exercise that religion in the solitude of a separate hermitage, which they could not exercise together in the palace of their father. They retired from Wales at a period when the Christians of Roman Britain, as Gildas informs us, had many churches constructed for the public rites of devotion; they became martyrs or confessors in Cornwall and Devonshire, when those churches were levelled to the ground; they were sainted, and had churches erected to their memory when Christianity was again tolerated, was soon encouraged, and was speedily established *. They thus differ essentially from all the hermits that we have seen before: *those* were protected or patronised by the kings or nobles of Cornwall, all of them now Christians; while *these* were seized by the heathen hand of power,

* Gildas, c. viii.: "Renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas, basilicas sanctorum "martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt."

were

were dragged to prison, were probably sentenced to death, and some of them actually put to death. They thus became confessors or martyrs at the closing persecution of the Christian church, when the malignant spirits of earth or hell made their last efforts, and lavished all their arts of violence in one last exertion to crush the genius of a religion for ever, that derived a flame of animation from the very fires of heaven itself, that therefore rose strong under the heaviest weight of human or diabolical oppression, and was always aspiring to mingle with those fires again from which it originally came.

So high are we carried by this singular train of anecdotes, which has hitherto lain unnoticed amid the dust and cobwebs of antiquarian literature, in the history of our religion among the Cornish! We have beheld it patronised where Dr. Borlase imagined it to be persecuted; we have found it persecuted where Dr. Borlase did not suppose it to exist; yet persecuted only when it was also persecuted in Devonshire, when indeed it was persecuted all over the Roman empire. We particularly perceive in this royal family of Wales, in this glorious household of Welsh confessors and martyrs, the names of many of those saints whose memories we are yearly celebrating in our parish-feasts, and whose appellations we are daily pronouncing in those of our parishes, without knowing who, or when, or whence they were. Most of them were Irish we now see, many of them Welsh, but some Cornish; holy men, holy women, sons or daughters of kings; devout hermits, religious prelates, even pious kings themselves; renouncing the world for religion, resigning their lives for their faith, and rejecting earth for heaven; but so rejecting or so resigning merely at the finishing period of persecution, and so renouncing under the establishment of Christianity in the isle as a part of the empire, though a couple of centuries afterward. That happy leven of the world, Christianity, was long struggling to ferment the mass of the empire, by slow degrees subdued a part of its natural heaviness, but at last diffused her quickening influence very successfully through the whole *.

* "St. Kayne," says Dr. Borlase, "or Keyna, a holy virgin of the blood royal, daughter "of *Braganus prince of Brecknockshire*, is *said* to have gone a pilgrimage to St. Michael's "Mount,

S. Kayne. "Mount, in Cornwall. (Carew, p. 130; Capgrave, p. 204; Willis Not. p. 103.) Now "*this saint lived* in the *end* of the *fifth* century, and as she probably dwelt in the eastern "part of this county (where her church and well are still to be seen, and her festival is cele- "brated on the 30th of September), it is not at all improbable that she should come this "pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount; a *fact* farther confirmed by the legend of St. Cadoc "(though disfigured by fable), who, according to Capgrave (fol. liv. and cev.), made a "pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount, there saw and conversed with St. Kayne; and on his "return, parched with thirst, miraculously produced a most plentiful and healing fountain "in a dry place, and had a church dedicated to him in Cornwall, where this miracle was "performed." But where in Cornwall this church is, Dr. Borlase knew not himself, I believe, and I long found myself all unable to say, knowing no church at all of his name within the county, knowing only St. Cadoc in St. Veep, and St. Cadoc in Padstow parishes, at both which was certainly a chapel dedicated to him. The latter, however, is meant, as William says thus: "Sanctus Cradokus [Cadokus] est honoratus in ecclesiâ capellæ *prope* "*Patistow* in comitatu de Cornewaylle, *propter vermes destruendos bibendo aquæ fontis ibi-* "*dem*;" not for opening a well, but for freeing it from worms; "from which it appears that "this place" St. Michael's Mount "was dedicated to religion *at least* as anciently as *the latter* "*end* of the *fifth* century." (P. 385, 386.) The conduct of the argument here is wonderful; first referring to *mere report* for the pilgrimage of St. Kayne, afterwards denominating it a *fact*, and finally confirming it by another report from the very same quarter, Capgrave, the relator of both legends. But the grand absurdity of this passage lies in its direct and positive contradiction to what the Doctor has said before in this often-cited passage of p. 368, that "in "the remote corners of the island druidism had taken deep root, and it would not give way "to weak efforts; *hence it is* that after the Roman empire, and much the greatest part of "Britain, had been Christian, we find many martyrs suffering death in *Cornwall* for the "Christian faith; and *hence it is* that in the latter end of the *fourth*, during *all* the *fifth*, "and *most* part of the *sixth* centuries, we find so many holy men employed to *convert* the "Cornish to the Christian religion." Yet *now* we find St. Michael's Mount "*dedicated to* "*religion* at *least* as anciently as the latter end of the *fifth*." We thus close all the *errors* of Dr. Borlase concerning the first establishment of Christianity in Cornwall, with a contradiction to them from a fact as alleged by himself, direct, comprehensive, and sweeping.

The whole allegation, however, is merely a mass of falsehoods, created only by a confusion of names, and refuted by the evidence of history. Was indeed St. Kayne the "daughter of Braganus prince of Brecknockshire," she must have lived (as in the text I have shewn the sons and daughters of Brachanus to have lived) in the *beginning* of the *fourth*: so much more contradictory to all his hypothesis would this alleged fact be! But she was certainly no daughter of his; all of them that came into Cornwall being enumerated by name in the life of St. Nectan a real son, and no such daughter occurring in the list. She was in truth the daughter of *Brethonus* king of *Wales*, not *Brachanus* king of *Brecknockshire*: she went also into *Somersetshire*, not Cornwall, and took up her residence *there*, not *here*. There also St. Cadoc, who was her nephew by his mother's side, and the son of a king of South-Wales, actually buried her. "Ex Vitâ S. Gundlei Regis. 'Gundeleus "filius

" filius regis Australium Britonum. Gundeleus ex Gladusâ uxore *Cadocum* genuit. Obiit " Gundeleus juxta *ecclesiam quam construxerat;* presente *Dubritio episcopo Landavensi*';" consequently *long after* the days of Brachanus king of Brecknockshire, even *nearly two centuries after*, as Dubricius died in November 522 (Richardson's Godwin, 572-591), "'et " *Cadoco*, 4 Cal. Aprilis'." (Leland's Itin. viii. 53.) " Ex Vitâ S. Keinæ. 'Keina *Bre-* " *thani* filia. *Keinewir*, id est, Keina virgo'," Gwyryf (W.) being a virgin still, " 'locos " ubi Keina habitabat serpentibus liberavit'," &c.: the margin says, " Keinesham," and " 'Cadocus materteram suam Keinam sepelivit'," at " 'ecclesia *Caine* a Danis vastata'." (Ibid. 53, 54.) We thus conclude the *fables* of Dr. Borlase concerning the first establishment of Christianity in Cornwall, with one *fable* detached from the rest, incidental in its introduction, but crowning in its detection.

Nor is the Doctor's reference to Carew one iota more satisfactory than his appeal to Willis or to Capgrave. Carew speaks of St. Kayne's Well, not Willis's, near the mouth of the eastern Loo, not even another in the parish of St. Kaine higher up this current, but a third at Trekue or Trekieve, about a mile to the north of St. Clere's church. (Norden, 86, his and great map.) Yet Dr. Borlase, by his mode of appeal equally to Carew and to Willis, has fixed both the last and the first, though so distant from each other, to be the very well at which " she probably dwelt in the eastern part of this county:" by his speaking, however, of " her *church and well*," as still " to be seen" there, and of " her festival," as " cele- " brated" there " on the 30th of September," he again settles her well with Willis specifically at St. Martin's. The fact is, that he was confounded in the topography of this his native county, fancied the three wells to be all one; even imagined St. Martin's near Loo, because denominated with an *alias* St. Kayne's to be St. Kaine's near Leskard. But he suffered himself to be led into this confusion by adopting the very natural ignorance of a stranger to the county, and taking all Willis's aberrations without a moment's thought into his own work.

Yet, as Dr. Borlase has referred to Carew, let me wind up this long note with another proof of the Doctor's absurd reference to him: " I will relate you," says this topographer in a very remarkable passage, " another of the Cornish natural wonders, viz. St. Kayne's " Well;—not Kayne the manqueller, but one of a gentler spirit and milder sex, to wit, a " woman. He who caused the spring to be pictured," in some drawing (I suppose) then shewed at the well, " added this rime for an exposition:

" In name, in shape, in quality,
" This well is very quaint;
. . . . . .
" The quality, that *man or wife*,
" *Whose chance or choice attaines*
" *First of this sacred streame to drinke*,
" Thereby THE MASTRY GAINES."

A well endowed with such a quality as this, either settles or precludes at once all matrimonial disputes about power, and is the peculiar felicity of our own county; but what

enhances the blessing greatly, *not one husband of Cornwall has been known for a century past* to take advantage of the quality, and so secure his sovereignty for ever. Dr. Borlase, we see indeed, did not even know *where* it was; but other antiquaries have known, and antiquaries, perhaps, want more than most men to maintain their husbandly prerogatives by so easy an expedient, yet not even a single antiquary has presumed to drink of this matrimonial Helicon: I might have been near it, but forbore to visit it; the advantage is generously resigned up to our wives, and the daughters of St. Keina reign in every family. Cornwall is thus a *Martigny* upon a grander scale, and Dr. Borlase has levelled one of the most extraordinary wells in the world, the happiness and the honour of Cornwall, to a mere fountain of common waters, near Loo, near Leskard, or near any other church in Cornwall.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

SECTION I.

King Theodore's Palace at Catchfrench in S. Germans. The Church of S. Germans parochial before Episcopal. The College and Rectory House at S. Columb. Image of S. Germanus at Port Eliot.

I HAVE now levelled to the ground that strange and Gothic line of frontier which the hand of Dr. Borlase had thrown up against the inroads of Christianity, and for the defence of druidism as the exclusive heathenism of Cornwall. The Cornish became Christians with the other Britons of the north and west; were with the others polluted by that "detestable heresy" of Arianism, but cured by the vigorous operations of the Council of Nice; were afterwards with the others infected by the proud folly of Pelagianism, yet again cured by the coming, and by the preaching, of Germanus. He went into Wales, he came into Cornwall to complete his work; he went to king Benli in Wales*, and he came to king Theodore or Tewdor, probably in Cornwall, then residing at a royal house, assuredly in the present parish of St. German's. Yet

King Theodore's Palace in S. Germans.

* Nennius, c. xxx.: "Rex—cui nomen erat Benli, in regione Jal." In Denbighshire and the vale of Cluyd, "*Moel Benlli*, or *Vennli*'s Hill is a strong British post, probably "possessed by the chieftain of that name mentioned by Ninnius." (Gough, ii. 586.) This fortress may seem at first *not* to agree with the description, as Nennius speaks of Germanus's arrival "ad ostium *urbis*," and calls it "urbs" twice afterwards: but, as he also calls it "arx," the other name must be considered to mean only a castle. It was, however, "in regione *Jal*," which is now a mountainous tract of Denbighshire, having its name properly preserved in Gibson only (c. 820, with his map), and disguised into *Yale* in Leland's Itin. v. 35; Camden, 547; Gough, ii. 583: it is *now* not far from *Moel Benlli*, and *then* enclosed it probably. All was in Powis-land, Nennius speaking of it as in the "regio Povisorum" (c. xxxiv.), and Powis-land then comprehending all this part of the country. (Gough, ii. 583.) "*Moel Fenlli*, or *Benlli's Hill*, is remarkable for having on "it a strong British post, guarded as usual by dikes and fosses. This probably was possessed "by a chieftain of that name, for Nennius speaks of such a regulus of the country of *Yale*." (Pennant's North-Wales, i. 416.) Mr. Pennant was the speaker, we find, and Mr. Gough is the echo; yet neither of them has attempted to accommodate such a fortress to the narrative of Nennius.

where in the parish was that house? This it is impossible to point out with any greater share of certainty than what results from a mere analysis of names, and throws a quivering sort of morning-twilight over the inquiry; this, however, will be sufficient for our purpose, if we can prosecute our inquiry under the clouds that hang over it with any critical insight into the Cornish language. The ignorance, indeed, that prevails among the present inhabitants of Cornwall concerning the language of their ancestors, concerning the signification of the local names that meet them at every turn, is very wonderful in itself: but it appears peculiarly wonderful if ever vanity happens to *irradiate* the ignorance, and so exhibit it more conspicuous to the world, "the blackness of "darkness" then being strikingly displayed by the passing flash of a meteor. Thus a gentleman even literary, refined, and lively, observing lately a field of his that was vulgarly known by the appellation of the Bowling-green, to be denominated in his legal papers *Parc Behan* (or Little Field) in Cornish, was struck with the supposed magnificence of the title, ridiculously resolved to build a house upon it for the sake of this, and then more ridiculously gave his house the *English* appellation—of BEHAN PARK. A *bowling-green* of Cornwall was dilated and expanded by the force of folly into a *park* of England! Such are the monsters produced by ignorance, when it is impregnated by vanity! but as *we* are secure from this, so are we in no danger from that. Let us see, therefore, the names of the greater houses in the parish at present. They are these: Hendra, Cutcrew, or Treskelly, Pole-Martin, Molinek, or Coldrinneck, Bake, Cuddenbeak, or Catch-French. None of these seem to signify a royal habitation; but, in order to see effectually whether they do or not, we must examine the British of them in its real import, pursue the analogy of meaning through the British dialects, and so reach the radical idea of every appellation at last.

Hendra. HENDRA, indeed, which is compounded of *Hên* old, and *Dra* a house in Cornish, carries antiquity in its name, but bespeaks no royalty. Cutcrew. CUTCREW implies it only to have been a hut in a wood; *Cuit* (C.) being a wood, *Crow* (C.) being the same word with *Crowyn*, *Crywyn*, *Crewynn* (W.), a kennel or a hut, and with *Crue* (English), a rack in a farmyard.

yard. But TRESKELLY is a name of grander import, *Tre Kelli* signifying Grove House, and the intermediate letter being only interpolated *euphoniæ gratiâ* occasionally. POLE-MARTIN is merely the standing water; *Pol* (C.) being the same with Pool in English, meaning merely water as in the *Pool* of London, that part of the Thames which is immediately below the old bridge, and therefore requiring the union of *Merthyn* (A.) with it for stagnating the water. By the same analogy of language, the equivalent *Lock* of the Britons, applied equally by us English in our *Lake* to a piece of stagnant water, is still used by the Highlanders and the Irish for an arm of the sea, and was even used with *Lake* by Leland's cotemporaries in the very vicinity of London, for an arm of an inland river. "The first arme that breketh owt by west of "the mayne streame," says Leland himself concerning the river Lee of Hertfordshire, "ys a mile lower then Wormeley, but in that paroch, "and is caullid Wormeley *Lokke*, and rennith by Cheston nunnery and "paroche, standing on the west side of this arme. And owt of this "streame breketh a litle beneth Cheston nunnery, an arme caullid the "Shere *Lake*, because that it devidith Estsax and Hertfordshire; and i "the lengt of one medow, caullid Frithey, this *Lake* or arme rennith "not but at great fluddes*." MOLINEK speaks only its own relation to a mill, *Melyn* (W.), *Melin* (C.), *Melin, Meill, Mul, Mui-lean* (I.), importing a mill, and being only the echoes of the Latin *Mola* or *Molendinum;* with the termination of the possessive adjective, the same in British as in Latin, and shewing itself equally in Britannicus and Brethonek (C.) for British. And COLDRINNECK is descriptive solely of the land on which it once lay; as *Col* (C.) is a ridge or neck of a hill, *Rhyn* (W.) a mountain, a hill, a cape, or a promontory; *Run* (Erse) the same, *Rhyn* (C.) a hill, *Rhynen, Runen* (C.), a hillock, *Rinn* (I.) a peninsula or neck of land, or (which is evidently the primary idea) the point of a sword or spear, and *Rinneach* (I.) sharp-pointed. *Col Rinneach*, therefore, refers to that sharp-pointed ridge of a hill, on which Coldrinneck originally stood, and what is denominated the Higher Coldrinneck still stands.

Treskelly. Polmartin. Molineck. Coldrinneck.

* Itin. vi. 55.

Bake. BAKE assumed its appellation probably from the original smallness of its house; as *Little* has been frequently used for the surname of a person, as a gentleman's house in Wiltshire is denominated *Littlecot* at present, or as Netley Abbey, in Hampshire, is properly denominated *Little* at times, the very *Letelege* of Leland *; and as *Bâch* (W.), *Bach* (C.), answers to *Little* in English. Just so, Tre-*bigh* is a name even for the capital of a large manor in Cornwall †. Ty *Bychan* also signifies in the laws of Howel Dha ‡, what modern refinement is now exalting into a water-closet; and so stands a full evidence that we had, at least from the settlement of the Romans among us, a presumptive evidence that we had *before* their settlement, those necessary appendages to our houses, which have been found in the Roman buildings at Pompeii, and in Roman remains within our own island, which were therefore known to our monasteries probably from their first erection; but were certainly familiar to them during the eleventh or twelfth century, yet were unknown even in Madrid within these fifty years, and are even unknown to families above the vulgar in Cornwall at this day. Nor do we find them wanting among our Saxon sovereigns or Saxon nobles, though structures of such a quality cannot be expected to catch the common notice of history. Man is obliged to do what he is ashamed to mention, feels himself degraded by the necessary attentions to his own body, and so proves himself in descent, in destination, or in both, superior to his present situation even in the scale of nature alone. Yet a memorable incident in the death of a Saxon king has brought the building forward to the eye of history, and compelled our historians to mention it. That gallant hero Edmund Iron-side, the true representative of the Athelstans, the Alfreds, or the Cerdics of his family, the last supporter of the Saxon monarchy, and in whose fall it fell; even he, in 1016, "sleeping for a "night at Oxford, when he stepped aside into a *secret retired room for* "*the functions of nature*, a son of Eadric's, instigated by his father, "concealed himself in the *secret pit*, struck the king [as he was "sitting]

* Itin. iii. 110: The abbey is equally termed *Lettelue*, in the inscription upon its own seal. (Arch. xiii. 195.)

† Hals, 116.

‡ Howel Dha, i. 47, p. 72.

"sitting] in his private parts, with a poniard doubly sharpened, "thus gave him deadly wound, and flying, left the weapon in his "bowels §." So familiar in our houses of *royalty* at lesat was this kind of room, as early as the murder of Edmund in 1016! Yet we find it in another fact of murder, above a hundred years before, and at the house of a mere noble; since "Earl Stephen, the brother of Walo," says Worcester, "as *sitting in secession he eased nature*, is struck with "an arrow *through the window*, and dies from the wound the same "night ||." And we also find it mentioned repeatedly as an appendage to our monasteries, in the ages since ¶. Teagh *Beag*, or *Beg*, means the same sort of building, in Irish. But, what is very surprising, the popular denomination for it is the *Bog*, or the *Bog*-house, among the academics of Oxford; even of that Oxford, at which we find one in 1016, and among those academics, who as little think they are talking British, when they so call it, as the alderman of London thought he was talking prose when he spoke in conversation. But just in the very mode of forming *Bach* into a substantive, so leaving it to stand as the designator of an object by itself, we find *Beach* (I.), *Bee* (English), the ancient as well as the modern appellative of what the natives of North-America call the Englishman's fly, as introduced among them by

§ Matt. Westm. 401: "Rege apud Oxoniam pernoctante, dum ad domum secretiorem "ad exquisita naturæ diverteret, filius—Eadrici, patris instinctu, in foveâ delitescens secre-"tariâ,—eundem regem cultello bis acuto inter celanda percussit, et eo lethaliter vulnerato, "inter viscera fugiens ferrum reliquit." Malmsbury, f. 40: "Ad naturæ requisita "sedenti."

|| Flor. Wigorn. 337: "Stephanus comes, frater Walonis, cum in secessu residens "alvum purgaret, sagittâ per fenestram percutitur; unde eâdem nocte extinguitur."

¶ At Winchester monastery, one of the oldest probably in the kingdom, were "domus "necessariæ, ac officinæ, monarchorum." (Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 185.) St. Alban's monastery, about the year 1200, is said to have rebuilt "vetus dormitorium "ruinosum et præ vetustate tabefactum, cum dormitorii *appendiciis*," like our night-stools in our bed-rooms, "videlicet, *domicilio necessariorum*." (M. Paris, 1047.) Peterborough monastery was burnt down in the twelfth century, "præter capitulum, et dormitorium, et "*necessarium*." (Leland's Coll. i. 15.) And Chillenden, prior of Christ-church, in Canterbury, from 1490 to 1511, "domos *quamplures*," as answering to the great number of monks, "*necessarias*, longo tempore dirutas, de novo fecit ac emendavit." (Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 143.)

the

the English, and what our ancestors the Britons so denominated merely from its littleness.

Cuddenbeak. CUDDEN BEAK reflects a very different light to the mind's eye, is purely local, is confined to the site, and implies a wooded point of land. *Coat* (C.) is timber or wood, *Coed* (W.), wood, timber, or trees, *Coeden* (W.), a tree, *Cudon* (C.), *Cudon, Cuddon* (W.), a wood-dove, properly and precisely (as appears from analogy) any thing belonging to a wood; *Cudyn* (W.), a lock of hair, or wool; *Cudin* (C.), the hair of the head, a lock of hair, or a bush, and properly any thing bushy or wood-like. Thus we have one of earl Moreton's manors within Cornwall, called expressly in Doomsday Book *Cuda-woid* *. We have even a headland a little to the east of St. Michael's Mount, more appositely to our present purpose denominated *Cudden* (or wooded) *Point*, at this moment. *Beak* indeed, in the name at St. German's, is only the same in signification as *point*. Yet it is equally British with its accompanying *Cudden*, being still retained without disguise in the Armorican *Bek*, but changed into *Pyg* in Cornish and *Pig* in Welsh, still preserved in all its primitive form by *Beak* in English, and meaning in all these languages the bill of a bird. But such a bill is so denoted, from the prior import of the word; *Pig* (W.) being a prick or point, *Piccell* (C.), a dart, an arrow, a javelin; *Piga* (C.), to prick; *Pigol* (C.), a mattock, a *pick-axe*; *Pikel* (in Lancashire) a *pitch*-fork; and *Pig* (C.), a *pig* in English, so denominated from the sharpness of its snout. *Beak* therefore signifies any sharp or pointed object, and so comes here to import a point of land sharp in its configuration. But let me elucidate this explanation by a reference to authority. "*Beg, Bec*, or *Bek*," says Pelletier in his Dictionary of the Language of Bretagné, is "a point, a pointed extre-"mity; I find it used for the face, or at least for the mouth," surely for the mouth alone, by transition from a bird's bill, "in this passage "of the Life of St. Gwenolé, *Ho bec d'am bec lequet, ha m' ystryset*, Put

* Hals, 140, says, that this is the name in Doomsday Book for Cudden Beak itself; when it is only one among many names of lands under "Terra comitis Meritoniensis," and when all these are discriminated expressly from the lands of the bishop at St. Germans.

"your

" your face [mouth] to my face [mouth], and embrace me [press me, or " give me a pressing kiss]: *Bec* is used also for the beak of birds, and " even the muzzle of four-footed beasts," by the same transition from the bill of a bird.—" *Bec* is one of the ancient words Gallic or Celtic, " recognized for such by the ancients and by the moderns. Though " we see it written before ' Ho *Bec*,' our Bretoons pronounce it com- " monly ' Ho *Pec*,' your bill, your *mouth*;" just as we have seen *Bec* in Armorican changed into *Pig* in Welsh, or *Pyg* in Cornish, and just as we still use it familiarly among ourselves, in *Peak* a sharp prominence, or a sharp angle.—" It is from the figure signified by this word, that " we have those appellations of *Bec d'Allier*, of *Bec d'Ambes*, to mark " the point of land which forms *the junction of two rivers*," as an angular prominence between them. " We also give the name," for the same reason, " to *promontories* and *capes*; and *it is common* on the western " side of *Normandy*, as *Bec de Champeaux*, *Bec d'Agon*, *Bec du Banc**."

This

* Pelletier, 47: " *Beg*, *Bec*, ou *Bek*, pointe, extremité pointue. Je le trouve pour la " face, ou du moins pour la bouche, en cet endroit de la Vie de Saint Gwenolé, *Ho bec* " *d'am bec lequet*, *ha m'ystryset*, Mettez votre face sur ma face, et m'embrassez. Bec se " dit aussi du bec des oiseaux, et même du museau des bêtes à quatre pieds.—Bec est un " de ces anciens mots Gaulois ou Celtique, reconnus pour tels par les anciens et par les " modernes. Quoique l'on voye ci-dessus, ' Ho *Bec*,' nos Bretons prononcent commune- " ment, ' Ho *Pec*,' votre bec, votre bouche.—C'est de la figure signifié par ce mot, que sont " venus ceux de Bec d'Allier, de Bec d'Ambes, pour marquer la pointe de terre que forme " la jonction des deux rivieres. On donne aussi ce nom, aux promontoires et caps; et il " est commun dans la côte occidentale de Normandie, Bec de Champeaux, Bec d'Agon, " Bec du Banc." That I correct the very lexicographer of the Bretoon language, in his very explanation of Bretoon terms; may seem to carry an air of high presumption, in the act. But the correction appears too just from the context to provoke the charge. " Put " your mouth to my mouth, and press me [with a kiss]," is obviously the meaning from that law of sound sense, which is paramount to all criticism on language. M. Pelletier himself accordingly renders the words very nearly up to my interpretation, in 844, 845. " *Stris*," he there says with more of mind as he had advanced farther in his lexicon, " etroit, serré, *pressé*—. Dans un endroit de la Vie de S. Gwenolé, il est employé au " sens honnete, *Ho bec d'am bec lequet*, *ha m'stryzet*, Mettez votre *bouche* à ma *bouche*, et " m'embrassez, *me pressez*. C'est Gralon, que l'on fait parler ainsi à son parent Fragan, " pere du saint. Je lis dans autre endroit de cette même Vie, *Striz*, comme adverb, pour " dire *de pres*, ou *avec application*, et *attentivement*.—Davies n'a point de mot, qui repond " à celui-ci." The Welsh in truth *has* no word correspondent. The Irish also has none.

But

This is fully sufficient of itself to ascertain the meaning of our Cornish appellation. But as we had lately an etymologist, Mr. Morgan, a dissenting teacher at Leskard, from Wales in the vicinity, who employed the knowledge of his native language frequently in decyphering the local names around him; who was actually deemed by those *that could not judge*, to be very happy in his explanations; yet was in fact most fantastically wrong, resolving Cudden Beak (for instance) into—Cudin (W.), a lock of hair or wool, and Bach (W.), little; yet interpreting it a little *promontory*, as if a promontory could possibly be expressed in any language by a lock of wool or hair; for that reason I have taken so large a compass of examination before, and for that reason I shall enlarge a little more now, willing to chase away such impertinence for ever from the minds of my cotemporaries in Cornwall. Pelletier has thrown a considerable light upon the subject. I have augmented this light, But more may be still thrown. I therefore remark additionally, that in the *interiors* of that *Normandy*, in which we find a local name completely Cornish, *Tre-port*, for the port-town of Eu; we equally find *Bec* distinguished by its ancient abbey, but situated at *the confluence of two rivulets* *. We also find there, what approximates both in sound and sense very closely to our Cudden Beak, *Caudebec*, a town near Rouen; at *the union of a couple of currents*, like that; like that too, at *the point of a woody hill*; and actually resolved by Bullet, the great linguist of the Celtic, just as I have resolved Cudden Beak, into Côd a wood, and Bec a tongue of land at the union of two rivers †. We have even in

But the Cornish has, not in Pryce however, but in Borlase; *Striz* being interpreted by the latter as narrow, *streight* [strait], and *Striza* to bind fast. The predominating idea of the word then, is what I have fixed upon it above, *pressing*; applies equally to a kiss, as to an embrace; and, in conjunction with the word *mouth*, can mean a kiss alone. And I thus notice the wrong, that Pryce has done to the Cornish language and to himself, by omitting this with numerous other words specified by Borlase, and this so authenticated by the appearance of the same word in Armorick, *strait* in English, *strictus* in Latin. See also v. 3, a note

* Bullet's Memoires sur la Langue Celtique, i. 129: "Bec, bourg situé sur une langue "de terre, à l'embouchure du Bec dans la Rille.—La riviere de Bec a pris son nom de ce "bourg."

† Ibid. 130: "Caudebec, sur le bord de la Seine, qui y reçoit une petite riviere,—au "pied d'une montagne couverte de bois. Cod, forêt; Bec, embouchure."

Pelletier's own province of Bretagné, *Bec du Raz*, a headland on the shore near Brest. But to bring the argument home to our own region, upon our coast of Cornwall, in the line of the north sea, and near to St. Genys, we have a promontory denominated expressly *Cam-beak*, or the Crooked Point, to this day. That Cudden Beak had a large wood adjoining to it even at the Conquest, I shall soon shew; and that it is a hill projecting between two currents of water, the surveying eye assures us at once, Polvathic being a stream on the west, and Tiddiford on the east*.

Catch-french.

Not one of these names, however, confesses any relation in itself to royalty. Yet perhaps the only remaining one will, as it seems peculiarly strange, and very different in sound or form from all the rest; CATCH FRENCH. This indeed is so different, and so strange, that it naturally excites our surprise at the hearing, and powerfully provokes our amazement on examination. It is plainly a name that has been thrown into the crucible of vulgar pronunciation, and come out again disfigured completely in its aspect. What its original aspect therefore was, it is the business of critical chemistry to ascertain. The mere sound of the letters at first suggests to an *English* ear, that the name is derived from some interception of a party of French, landed upon the coast adjoining, and penetrating thus far, about three or four miles, up into the country. This is accordingly the very interpretation, which Carew, in his usual spirit of both thinking and talking with the vulgar, has adopted; but adopted with so much want of explicitness, as shews he was half ashamed of it. "Catch-French," he says, is "a house, so named (by likely-"hood) for some former memorable, though now forgotten accident †." Such an interpretation, indeed, is worthy of the vulgar alone, who are obliged to ring names like vessels, and to judge of their goodness by their sound in the *English* language. Scholars, therefore, mount upon

* Carew, 109, with a good luck that seems more the result of accident than of judgment, and merely from attention to the *English* termination of the name, has fallen upon this very etymon. "At the town's end," he says, "Cuddenbeak,—from a well-"advanced promontory, which entituled it Beak, taketh a pleasant prospect of the river."

† Carew, 109.

the wings of learning, and soar a higher flight; explaining the name into *Chasse Franche*, or a Free Chase. Etymologists always refer a local appellation to that language, with which they are most conversant themselves; schoolboys, or young academics, to the Latin or the Greek, and lawyers to Norman-French. But in etymologizing there is a better light to direct us, than any which learning can furnish, good sense; a kind of solar beam, steady and sure, in comparison with which learning is merely an unctuous vapour, kindled by accident, dancing at random, and leading into quagmires. Men of judgment know, that local names should be explained only in the vernacular language of the country; and that, though affectation may occasionally generate a foreign name, as nature makes a monster now and then, yet the regular course is very different. The local names in Cornwall are almost all Cornish. They are so in the parish of St. German's particularly, as we have seen already; though lying along the line of its eastern frontier, a part first subdued by the arms and most marked by the language of encroaching England. This name of Catch-French, therefore, we may be sure, is equally Cornish with the rest. We have even a name, and the name of a royal house, not very dissimilar to the *former* half of this name at an early period of our and the French history; when, in 887, the Danes are reported to have left Paris, to have rowed under the bridge against the current of the Seine, till they came to the mouth of the Marne, to have then turned into the Marne, and, "with some toil, to "have reached a place which is called *Caziei*, it is *a royal ville* *." Nor is its Cornish genealogy very difficult to be unravelled. Thus *Cae* (A.) is a hedge, *Ke* (C.) is a hedge, *Cae* (W.) is a hedge or an enclosure, *Kea* (C.) is an enclosure, and *Kac* (C.) is a field †. This is consequently the same with the Saxon ꝥæȝ, or our hedge; is accordingly lengthened out in ancient monuments of the Gauls, into *Cagia* a close, an enclosure; and ends at last in *Caga*, a *cage*, both in French and

* Asser, 54: "Sub illo ponte sursum contra Signe longè remigando,—donec ad ostium "fluminis quod Materre nominatur pervenisset, tunc Sigonam deserentes in ostium Materræ "divertunt, contra quod diu ac longè navigantes, demum non sine labore usque ad locum, "qui dicitur Caziei, id est villa regia, pervenerunt."

† Borlase.

in

in English, in *Caque* (French), *Cac* (Armorican), *Cag* (English) a little barrel, in *Cag*, *Cager*, a village, or in *Cageois*, old French for a villager *. But we have a village within our own Cornwall, upon the shore of the south sea, and in the parish of Ruan Minor near the Lizard, denominated with a closer approach to similarity *Cadge*-with; as we have equally a house in Madern parish entitled Rose-*cadg*-wel, and in Illugan parish Nance-*keage* Downs, Great Nance-*keage*, Little Nance-*keage*, near Nance. We have thus traced out a Cornish word that adapts itself with great exactness to the former half of the appellation, and shall more easily discover another, which will with equal exactness suit the latter. *Prinsa* (I.), *Prins* (A.), and *Fryns* (C.), is the same word with the English and the French *Prince;* we even have the word compounded into local appellations in the "Croft *Prince*" and the "Goon *Prince*" of St. Agnes parish; two appellations that, in the Cornish tone of pronouncing them, would be "Croft *Fryns*" and "Goon *Fryns*." Here, then, without any violence offered to the language, merely "lene tormentum ingenio admovens plerumque duro," and exerting only the power requisite to *elicit* the truth by examination, I have found a house in the parish of St. German's that tells us its royal origin, and was honoured probably with the residence of Germanus during his visit in Cornwall.

From several of these names we see that the parish was once covered with woods, and that some of the houses were prior to the destruction of the trees; records also come in to confirm the existence of those woods, even so late as the Conquest, and to shew us the large dimensions of them even then. Doomsday Book notices one wood on that part of the manor of St. German's, of which Cudden Beak (as I shall shew hereafter) had the capital house upon it; to be *two miles long* and

* Bullet, ii. 247, 248. By "ancient monuments" Bullet means lives of saints, histories, and chronicles. (See his preface to vol. ii. at the end.) Pelletier, in p. 106: "*Cacous*—, "nom est, si je ne me trompe, venu du François *Caque*, petit tonneau, prononcé par nos "Bretons *Cac*." The English language thus appears to have preserved a British word, when all the dialects of the British have lost it.

one broad *: it also speaks of another wood in the parish, as *four miles long* and *two broad* †. Much of the woods, however, had undoubtedly been then destroyed; and we find accordingly two ranges of pastures then, the first two miles long and one broad, but the second four long with two broad ‡. This destruction first began probably at CATCH-FRENCH, and the house there I suppose to have been on a lawn in the bosom of the forest, a mere lodge for hunting in the woods around. But the forest afterwards receded on every side, from the permitted excision of the trees, and the licensed construction of the houses, till CUT-CREW, the mere hut of some woodman, rose into a gentleman's habitation; till the house of the king's warden of the woods perhaps assumed the appellation of HENDRA or Old House, in reference to the new houses about it; and till TRESKELLY became characterized as the House in the Grove, when others were now in open situations. A mill had been erected for the use of the palace, probably about a mile from it, and the house of the king's miller adopted a name descriptive of his business, MOLINEK. A small house was also built at BAKE, and had the degrading appellation of Little assigned it by those who always denominate from what they see; who have therefore denominated a privy in Wales and in England, with a singular coincidence of language for eight hundred years together, Ty Bychan, the Bog, or the Little House. But CUDDEN BEAK continued long to be screened from the winds on its exposed situation by large remains of the proscribed forest, and so acquired the natural title of the Wooded Point. Yet, as the English language broke in upon the Cornish, the latter retreating towards the west before the victorious progress of the former, Cornish names of places began to be assimilated in sound to English; *Re-stronget*, or *Stronget* Passage, near Penryn, was vitiated in pronuncia-

* Vol. i. fol. 120: "Silva ii leucas longa et unam leucam lata." For the length of the *leuca*, see an explicit passage in Ingulphus, fol. 517, Savile, first produced by Spelman.

† Ibid. ibid. "Silva iiii leucas longa et ii leucas lata."

‡ Ibid. ibid. "Ibi pastura iiii leucas longa et ii leucas lata;—ibi pastura ii leucas lata [longa] et unam leucam lata."

tion

tion into its popular name of *Strangwæge* at present †; and *Cadge Fryns* was corrupted into CATCH-FRENCH *.

The king of Cornwall was probably induced by Germanus to begin this excision of the trees, and to turn the old wood into a new parish by erecting a church, by settling a rector at it, and by giving him the tithes of the new enclosures, with a portion of the enclosures for a glebe. Germanus certainly resided some time in the present parish, as "the "inhabitants," only eighty years ago, "retained several stories" concerning him. The church was plainly erected within a short time after his visit, because of the compliment that was paid to his name in affixing it to the church; a compliment that was paid perhaps in all the places which he visited, was certainly paid in several, but in all must have been paid while the memory of his visit was yet warm upon the royal mind, while the view of his religiousness was yet lively in the royal breast, and both yet breathed in aromatic odours to the royal remembrance. Germanus died the year after this journey into Cornwall §, and was immediately sainted. This appears from the express appellation of Saint, which was given him by the biographer of Lupus; when he says, that Lupus went into Britain "with *Saint* Germanus, a man replete with "all perfection and spiritual grace ‡." But it appears still more early from facts in our own island. "Near the walls of the ruined Verulam," cries Camden, "the chapel of Germanus even yet retains his name, "though it is now applied to profane uses, *on the spot from which, as "from a pulpit, he spoke the divine word,* which *some fragments of an*

† Leland's Itin. iii. 27: "Betwixt the point of land of Trefuses and the point of "Restronget wood, is Milor creek—. Good wood in Restronget. The next creek beyond "the point in Stronget wood is caullid Restronget.—Betwixt Restrongith creke and," &c.

* It is very extraordinary that the name of the family which formerly possessed this estate was correspondent with this etymon in the prior half of it, *Keck*-witch. Yet as the "ancient "dwelling" of this family "was in Essex, where this gentleman [Mr. George Keckwitch] "enjoyeth fayre possessions" (Carew, 109); the correspondency is merely casual, a kind of *lusus naturæ* upon etymologists.

§ Usher, 204, 205.

‡ Usher, 176: "Cum S. Germano, totius perfectionis et gratiæ spiritalis pleno."

"*ancient*

"*ancient history concerning St. Alban's church* do witness §." This has been pulled down since the days of Camden, but the site is still marked to the eye; it was not, however, where Dr. Stukeley has placed it, within the walls of Verulam, and near the eastern end of the town, but stood upon the vacant ground between the river and the walls, towards that bridge by which Fishpool Street in St. Alban's is stretching out to people the desolated site of Verulam again. And such was the reverence paid to Germanus's memory, that though Verulam was ruined soon afterwards, the whole compass of it destroyed from end to end, and the site of this grand *municipium* of the Romans converted into a deer-park for the abbey adjoining, with the Roman walls standing for pales to it, yet the ground retains to this moment the appellation of St. German's Farm: the continuance of the chapel perpetuated the name through its history as a park to its condition as a farm. Thus has the memory of St. German survived upon this scene of his distinguished activity through all the revolutions of Verulam, from its height of splendour at the time, to its abyss of humiliation at present; has even extended from a lonely chapel without the walls, in spite of all revolutions, and diffused his name at present over all the site of the city *.

In

§ Camden, 293: "Juxta prostratæ urbis mœnia, Germani sacellum etiamnum homine, "etsi profano usu, superest; quo loci ille, pro suggestu verbum divinum effatus erat; ut "antiquæ fani Albani membranulæ testantur." Thus, when archbishop Baldwin went through Wales in 1188, to preach up a crusade, at Aberteivy "*in loco—prædicationis*, "juxta caput pontis, tanquam tanti conventûs memoriale, locum *capellæ* in viridi planicie "statim plebs devota signavit; *ubi vestigia loquendo ad populum* archiepiscopus *fixerat*, "altare designantes." (Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. Cambr. 860.)

* Camden, in his reference to "antiquæ fani Albani membranulæ," appears to have met with a record more accurate and more just than what M. Paris had found. Camden's author makes the building a chapel, erected on the very spot from which Germanus preached to the assembled crowds; while M. Paris's calls it merely, "*habitaculum*—illud, *in quo* "idem Sanctus Germanus, postquam veneranter corpus sancti martyris de terrâ levaverat, "*moram fecit aliquando.*" (P. 993.) Camden's is apparently the true account, while Paris's is as contradictory as it is false. Though it is denominated an habitation, and though Germanus is said to have resided some time in it, yet it is instantly declared by Paris to have been "in convalle pomerii," in the valley without the walls of Verulam; "ubi paludes et "arundines *capacia* loca reddunt *inhabitabilia*," a place *capable* of receiving assembled crowds in it, but *not habitable in itself*, because of the reedy marsh there. There the build-

In that very region of Jal, too, which we have seen Germanus visiting before, and in that very parish probably at which he visited king Benli,

ing "ignobiliter jacuit derelictum, et ædificia diruta vix vestigia memoriæ prædicti sancti "reliquerunt;" nearly five centuries having now passed since the visit of Germanus to Verulam. But *then* "fabricata fuit basilica," a grander kind of chapel, the very chapel which Camden saw, "*juxta* mœnia," just without the walls; and "quidam *ibidem* "monachus claustralis, eximiæ sanctitatis vir, vitam longo tempore duxit heremiticam, "hortos coluit, herbis et leguminibus et aquâ in abstinentiâ mirabile, et orationibus "indefatigabilibus, deduxit." (Ibid.) The next abbot, "non procul a loco illo, ora-"torium in honore Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ construxit," which still remains, but is equally without the walls, and is close by the old entrance into Verulam from London. (Stukeley's Itin. Cur. in plate 95, and Mr. Newcome's History of St. Alban's, p. 28.) Yet Dr. Stukeley places the chapel *within* the walls, and Mr. Newcome coincides with him; implicitly following the Doctor, even when he himself has just given an account from M. Paris that directly contradicts the Doctor. "Germanus," he cries, in p. 32, from the *historical errors* of M. Paris, "—had made some abode at this place, and had "dwelt in a small habitation;" which, however, Mr. Newcome is prudent enough *not* to place with M. Paris in an *uninhabitable* site. But, as he adds immediately from M. Paris concerning what M. Paris *could not but know to be true*, this building was "*behind* the wall "of Verulam, and *contiguous to the pool:*" yet, as he instantly subjoins, "some remains "of *this* chapel are to be seen in Dr. Stukeley's View of Verulam," which places it *within* the walls. So contradictory can a writer be in a small compass! As, however, he advances farther in his history, he sees he is wrong, and corrects Dr. Stukeley, but forgets to correct himself. "In the spot where Dr. Stukeley has placed St. German's chapel," he remarks in p. 508, from a plan of Verulam made in 1637, "here stood a very respectable mansion "of brick, with a court in front, and stables, &c. a place fit for genteel inhabitants; and "*the chapel* was situated *near the—bank*" of the river or morass, "in *the corner of a little* "*meadow.*" This meadow is evidently what is mentioned in the fourteenth century, though Mr. Newcome seems all unconscious of the relationship; when Richard the twenty-eighth abbot is said by Mr. Newcome himself to have "augmented the pool of the abbey-mill "after repairing the same; and *the meadow adjoining*, called *Saint German's Meadow*," to have "raised." (P. 228.) Yet where does all Verulam appear to bear the name of St. German? It appears from Mr. Newcome, though with his previous contradictoriness, "the old site of Verulam," he tells us in p. 508, "is still called *Saint German's Farm.*" The language is fully comprehensive, we see, and covers the whole site; yet the tide instantly recedes, as Mr. Newcome instantly adds, "all *the broad part* of the same, extend-"ing from the—bank to the Hampstead road, and containing more than 70 acres," when the whole is *not*, indeed, 450, as Chauncy relates, p. 416: yet, as Mr. Newcome himself alleges, p. 28, "not less than 100" is all that "is called by that name." But this is merely that casual contradictoriness of confusion in which ideas impinge upon ideas,

"As gods meet gods, and jostle *in the dark*;"

because

Benli, the long tale in Nennius of Germanus's coming to the gates of the citadel, of Benli's refusing to let him be admitted, and of all the wonders resulting from both, being evidently false in itself, a mere mass of Gothic architecture, resting upon a slight pillar of truth in the

because the author avers immediately below, that "after the fall and ruin of Verulam, *this* "*site* received the name of Germanus—*these fields* still bear this name;" and "in the year "1637—the property of *Saint German's Farm*—was in sir Thomas Cotton," &c. An abbot also, about 1330, "caused the *hedges*, *ways*, and *closes*, about *Saint German's*," the old town so called, and now a farm, "to be repaired, and sowed a *croft there* of *four* "*acres* with acorns, intending to make a wood; he had sown *this land* [with corn] four "years together, and *never had a return of the seed again*," from the many foundations in the ground, I suppose, and from the hardness of the streets between them; "but this year, "after sowing the acorns, he caused seven bushels of seed to be thrown on the ground, "and," from such repeated rippings of the soil, I presume, "in the following autumn the "crop was about ten quarters of very good wheat." (P. 228.) This site, however, is divided into six or seven "fields, called *Dorvaille*, upper, lower, and middle, which alludes to "the name of these lands in the time of Henry III. when they were called *Derefold*" (p. 508); and when a neighbouring baron, "cum—injuriis injurias multotiens accumu-"lasset, tandem quendam monachum—nequiter percussisset armatus, equum pretiosum co-"opertum insidens, et armatorum multorum agmine stipatus, discurrens et fugans cum "suis canibus et venatoribus, *juxta curiam nostram*, scilicet apud *Derefold*; quod quidem "abbas et conventus," from the high ground of the monastery, commanding all the site of Verulam, "intueri potuerat, et audire." (M. Paris, 1072.) "At the time of the Con-"quest,—at the survey directed by William," notes Mr. Newcome, 507, "here was a "*vivarium* (see Doomsday), or *place for keeping wild beasts, and choice animals*," with them: "here was the *only place of this kind* in the whole kingdom." Yet, to shew how inaccurate authors can be in their very reference to records, this *vivarium* in Doomsday Book appears to be merely a fish-pool, and is actually *opposed* to a park. "Unus *parcus* "ibi est," says the Book expressly, "*bestiarum sylvaticarum*," words meaning merely what beon means in Saxon, *wild beasts* in its *general* signification, but only *deer* in its *particular*, and so giving the park the appellation of *Dere-fold*, or *Dor-vaille*; "et unum "*vivarium piscium*" (fol. 135); even that very fish-pool which the seventh abbot bought, with Kingsbury certainly, and with Verulam assuredly, from king Edgar, "piscinam mag-"nam et profundam, quæ *fiispol* dicebatur, erat autem regum piscaria," which the abbot immediately, "in quantum potuit,—redegit in aridam," of which "adhuc apparent ter-"mini et altæ crepidines juxta viam et vicum qui *Fispolstrate* nuncupatur," yet "remansit "—abbati *quædam non magna piscina*" (M. Paris, 993), large enough, however, to be noticed by Doomsday Book. I have entered into this long note in justification of my text, and in elucidation of some points of local history concerning St. German, peculiarly clouded over with confusedness.

centre;

centre; we equally find great reverence paid to his memory, and a parish-church distinguished by his name. In "Yale lordship," says Leland, "—there is—a 4 or 5 paroches; whereof *the most famous* is "LLAN-ARMON, i. e. Fanum Germani.—*Greate pilgrimage and offer-* "*ing was a late to S. Armon* *." The object of devotion to the offering pilgrims, was the image of Germanus in the wall of the church. "Lan- "armon [is] a village," says Mr. Pennant, "whose church is dedi- "cated to St. Germanus; he was a most popular patron, and has num- "bers of other churches in Wales under his protection: *an image of an* "*ecclesiastic,* still *to be seen in the church wall* †."

There must equally have been an image of Germanus in our Cornish church; and a statue still kept in the priory, but reported to be the representation of the last prior, is assuredly that very image. It is about three feet in height, and appears plainly to have been fixed in a niche; the bottom of it shews a large spike to have been thrust up the body of it, in order to preserve it from falling; a hole capable of admitting a finger into it still appearing there. It was not placed, however, like the Welsh image, in a niche in the wall, but in one of tabernacle-work, as the back of it is not left rude or unfinished, is indeed as finished as the front, and was therefore calculated for a niche open equally on both: it also bears in its hand a smaller statue, about five or six inches only in length, standing upon a book, and designed (I doubt not) to represent our Saviour resting upon the Old Testament ‡. It is of wood, painted with the face vermilioned, and the robes carved, from the good state of preservation in which it still appears, being of no great antiquity. It is accordingly dressed just as, I suppose, its counterpart in North-Wales to be, being equally with that "the image of an eccle- Image of S. Germanus, at Port Eliot.

* Leland's Itin. iii. 35.

† Tour in North-Wales, i. 407. So, "in provinciâ de *Warthrenion*," near Radnor (see iv. 1, before), we find "ecclesia—Sancti Germani" (Giraldus's Itin. Cam. 821), now "Sannit Harman," in the maps, I suppose, and "St. Harmon, alias Llan Armon, pre- "bend and vicarage," in the deanery of Melleneth.

‡ So we have in a painting at one of the churches of Seville, "a Saint Anthony of Padua, "holding the infant Jesus on a book." (Swinburne, ii. 39.)

"siastic;" yet not of a secular ecclesiastic, but of a merely monastic one. A loose kind of frock is bound about the middle with a cord-like girdle, that hangs in a tasselled string to the foot; a hood stands stiffly reclining upon the shoulders, and a tippet is lying flat under it, a hood designed for the head, and a tippet formed for the neck; not such as are worn in the universities at present, a hood with the head part hanging below the rump, or a tippet dangling in a triangular fold like a shoulder-knot behind, but as worn recently or at present by our women, the tippet, particularly, being pointed behind like a woman's handkerchief, and reaching down with its point to the middle of the back. But the statue bears equally that symbol of a clergyman, either monastic or secular, which was originally a circle of hair upon the crown of the head, which however became afterwards (as here) a circle of baldness, produced from time to time by shaving, and was denominated a tonsure under either form *. It thus stood within a niche, but under a canopy, attracting the reverential attention, and receiving the idolatrous adoration of the whole parish; yet has now suffered more than two centuries of slight and contumely in return, what was once worshipped as a divinity being afterwards affronted as an idol, the slight even continuing when the contumely had ended, the slight actually surviving all knowledge of the reason for it, and the unknown god of the temple being thrust into a corner at the head of the stairs to the offices below. It stood originally, no doubt, in the front of that gallery which I have previously noticed to have been an organ-loft, to have been torn down at the Reformation, and to have had its ascent to it blocked up by the position of a pew against the door. The images of our churches, indeed, were generally placed, not (as is commonly supposed) in the chancel, but in the front of that loft or gallery which rose high, and ranged projecting between the chancel and the nave, so united with the partitioning rails to shade the chancel much from view. But these galleries or

* St. Jerome: "Nec calvitium novaculâ esse faciendum, nec ita ad pressum tondendum caput ut rasorum, similes esse videamur." Council of Toledo: "Omnes clerici, de tonso superius capite toto, inferius solam circuli coronam relinquant." (Bingham, ii. 403-405.)

lofts,

lofts, with their statues, were removed by Henry, restored by Mary, and again removed by Elizabeth †. I thus account at once for the preservation in safety, and for the recentness in appearance, of St. German's image here. This was removed to the priory for its preservation, and there kept in safety from the hands of those *reformers upon reformers*; those imbibers of the vinegar of reformation in a double distillation of sharpness; who rose about a century afterwards, who reared themselves upon the shoulders of the first reformers, who, denominating *themselves* saints, would not allow any to be denominated saints beside, stripped the very Apostles of the prefix of saintship to their names, and would certainly have demolished this image of St. German, if it had still continued in its niche.

Had this image not been a recent one, modelled when all the collegiated clergy had been for three or four ages obliged to assume the monastic manner*; and when therefore every dignified divine was naturally considered by the million as a monastic one; St. German would have appeared in a different dress, in the genuine robes of a clergyman of the time. How then would he have appeared? I will endeavour to ascertain this, so open a curious point of history, and correct not merely the error of this image, but another error, seemingly sanctioned by still greater authority. "As to the kind or fashion of "their [the clergy's] apparel," says Bingham, "it does not appear for "several ages, that there was any other distinction observed therein "between them and the laity, save that they were more confined to "wear that which was modest and grave, and becoming their profes-"sion, *without being tied to any certain garb or form of clothing*.—This "was St. Jerome's direction to Nepotian, that he should neither wear "black nor white clothing; for gaiety," attached to white, "and

† Mr. Denne's Histories of Lambeth Palace and Parish, p. 257-259. Mr. Denne attributes the first removal to Edward, overlooking this passage in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 457: "Anno xxx Henrici viij. regis, *statuæ divorum e templis sublatæ sunt*; et scrinia "*argentea* et *aurea*, unà cum *gemmis* et aliis *ornamentis* annexis, *ad fiscum regium delata* "*sunt*."

* See vii. 3, hereafter.

 "slovenliness,"

" slovenliness," *attached to black!* " were equally to be avoided." But the *artificial* idea of " slovenliness" attached to black, soon gave way to the *natural* one of gravity. " At Constantinople," the metropolis of the empire, and therefore the exemplar to it, " in the time of " Chrysostom and Arsacius, the clergy commonly went in *black*." Yet not in colour merely did their garments differ from those of the laity, though Bingham avers they did. Of " the *tunica*," adds he, " there " were two sorts, the *dalmatica* and the *collobium*; which differed " only in this respect, that the *collobium* was the short coat without " long sleeves, but the *dalmatica* was the—long coat with sleeves, both " which were used by the Romans." The former seems to correspond exactly with our short cassocks at present, and the latter with our long. And the suggestion seems to be confirmed by the Life of Cyprian, which says (as Bingham confesses) *he wore a dalmatica.* But, as the *collobium* was called *hemiphorium* by some, so the *dalmatica* was styled *caracalla* by others. " The caracalla, which some now call " the cassock," cries Bingham, " —was—first brought into use among " the Roman people" by him who had his name from it, Antoninus Caracalla. " But whether it was also a clerical habit in those days, may " be questioned, *since no ancient author speaks of it as such;* but, if it " was, it was *not any peculiar habit of the clergy,* since Spartian, who " lived in the time of Constantine, says they were then used by the " common people of Rome, who called them Caracallæ Antonianæ, " from their author*." This is all untrue in form or in substance, and I mean to prove it is. The dress of an ecclesiastic has been from the first ages, what is still the most distinguishing part it, a CASSOCK. It appears to have been so from a very remarkable though utterly unnoticed incident, in the very first movements of Christianity and a clergy in our isle. When Antoninus Bassianus, the son of the emperor Severus, adopted himself, and recommended to his subjects, the use of the Gallic *caracalla*; the dress became very common at Rome, but continued most common among the lower ranks there†. It thus remained to the days

* Bingham, ii. 411-413, edit. 2d, octavo, 1710.

† Spartian, ix. Hist. Aug. Scrip. 417: " In usu maximè Romanæ plebis frequentatæ."

of

of Dioclesian ¶. It was then, like our cassock, flowing down to the feet §. But before the days of Dioclesian it had been adopted, with some distinguishing difference assuredly, as the appropriated dress of the clergy. This difference I conjecture to have been what we see in our statue of Germanus, the addition of a hood for the head, to the *caracalla* of Antoninus; as the ancient glossers, seemingly from a mere association of ideas, produced by a combination of objects familiar to the eye, interpret *caracalla* by *cucullus*, a garment with a cowl to it ‖. Accordingly we find the *caracalla*, in less than sixty years after Dioclesian, actually noticed by St. Jerome, as *furnished with a hood*, and as *used* by *monks*, or ascetics *. And in a canon of the Saxon church, about the year 750 only, we find this express direction; that "the priest, when "he sings mass, is not to have on a *hood-cap*; and, if he reads the "Gospel, he *should lay it*," as it is laid in the statue, "*on his shoulders* †." That the *caracalla* was adopted by the clergy, and has been transmitted in the clerical cassock to our own days, was originally the conjecture of Salmasius; vitiating the name successively into *caraca* and *casaca* ‡, therefore wild in its appearance, yet (what is wonderful) true in its substance. But by so vitiating the name, in order to derive the thing, he was wild without necessity; *cassock* being related to *caracalla* only, as *now* signifying what the other *formerly* signified, yet borrowing its

¶ Spartian, ix. Hist. Aug. Scrip. 416: "Hodieq. Antoninianæ dicuntur."

§ Ibid. 416: "Vestimento—demisso usque ad talos."

‖ Ibid. 417: "Καραχαλλιον glossæ exponunt cucullam." (Salmasius's note.)—So the very "caracalla" of St. Alban is called "cuculla" by the middle ages. (Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 184, and Usher, 78.

* Ibid. ibid.: "Caracallæ, de quibus Beatus Hieronymus, erant palliola cum cucullis, "qualia monachi et ασκηται gerebant."—Usher, 78: "Hieronymus (epist. 128, ad Fabeo-"lam) et Eucherius (Instruction. lib. ii. cap. 10) indumentum sacerdotale—*in modum* "*caracallæ* fuisse dicunt, *sed sine cuculla*," and so "caracallas fuisse" *then* "—cucullatas "satis indicant."

† Concilia, i. 117, Pœnitentiale of Archbishop Egbert, canon ix. The translation is thus in Latin: "Cùm sacerdos missam celebrat, non portet *caracallam cassiatam*; sed, "cùm Evangelium legit, *imponat eam humero*;" The translation should have been merely *caracallæ cassiam*.

‡ Spartian, ix. Hist. Aug. Script. 417; Dio, 1311, notes.

own

own name from *Casag*, *Casog*, a term equally Celtic with the other, equally applied by the Gauls to that garment assuredly, and still used in the Highlands for a coat or a cassock §. But that the cassock of modern times is the same with the *caracalla* of the ancient, is shewn historically by Bede, an "ancient author," overlooked by Bingham; for Bede speaks "of it as" a "clerical habit in those days" of Dioclesian himself, and even as the "peculiar habit of the clergy" then. In his account of that proto-martyr of Britain, whose name we so justly revere, at the grand persecution of Christianity under Dioclesian, "Albanus, still a pagan," he says, "received into his house a certain *clergyman* flying from the "persecutors." This clergyman converted and baptized him, in the course of a few days; at the end of which, some soldiers came to search the house for the clergyman. Then, warmed with a flame of generous friendship for his spiritual father, "Albanus presented himself to the "soldiery for his guest and teacher, clad in HIS habit, *that is*, in the "CARACALLA with which HE was drest; and was carried bound to the "judge ‖." Here we observe clergymen in that very early period of British Christianity, in the very moments of persecuting heathenism, wearing the discriminative habit of their profession in a cassock, and wearing it so publicly, so regularly, that a layman by putting it on, perhaps too by concealing his face in the hood, could pass for a clergyman. In this little anecdote, as in a glass, we see the early origin of our clerical cassocks, and we behold the early appropriation of cassocks to us clergymen. From that period we trace the cassock under this Roman-Gallic appellation of *caracalla*, as appearing for ages in use among the clergy. We find it worn by an *abbot* in France during the

§ Hence *casog mharcachd* in Erse, a riding-coat; and a *cassock* is, by Shaw's Erse Dictionary, 1780, rendered *casag*. Casul in Welsh, which originally signified a chesuble only, has latterly been used, from mere assimilation of sound, to signify a cassock as well as a chesuble.

‖ Bede Hist. i. 7: "Albanus, paganus ad huc,—clericum quendam persecutores fu-"gientem hospitio recepit—. Sc. Sanctus Albanus pro hospite et magistro suo, ipsius "habitu, id est, caracallâ quâ vestiebatur, indutus, militibus exhibuit, atque ad judicem "vinctus productus est."

fifth

fifth century *. We find it noticed on St. Alban himself by king Alfred, in his translation of Bede's account; for a "*monk*'s habit †." We also behold it noticed on St. Alban again, by a monk of his abbey, under the *fourteenth*; in an express reference to that title of a *caracalla*, which was still popular for it, and with all that easy familiarity, with which an historical clergyman would speak of a cassock at present ‡. But it is finally noticed by a writer of the *sixteenth*, upon one who was an English clergyman of *Cornwall*, in the *ninth*; yet no longer indeed under the title of a *caracalla*; for what it is still worn among the clergy, as "an *interior* tunic §." On the statue of Germanus it is not so worn, because this statue is monastically dressed, and has only one garment. By the Cornish abbot above, however, it was worn just as it is by the clergy at present, as a garment *under* a gown; the *toga* being equally retained from the Romans among us, but retained with all a Roman's reverence for it, as an *upper* robe for the clergy, and as an *upper* mantle for magistracy. The great difference in dress then between the monastic and the common divine was this at last; that the cassock was worn by the former, as in the statue of Germanus, bound with a sash as we now bind it; and that the latter equally wore it bound, but with a gown flowing loosely over it. Yet there was also another difference, of a slighter quality indeed, but more noticed by the eye of the world. St. Jerome, as I have already observed, speaks of the *caracalla* as *then* furnished with a hood, and *then* used by monks. The hood was then beginning to be dropped by the common clergy, and to be continued only by the monks. The hood was so continued in fact till the Reformation, the monastic statue of St. Germanus (as I have said before) having a hood strikingly apparent. Hence the *cucullus* or *cowl* has become at this day the appropriate badge of a monk. And hence a bishop of Winchester, in the reign of Edgar, when he wanted

* "Dans le cinquieme siecle Saint Oyan, abbé de Condat, avoit un de ces habillemens." (Bullet, ii. 276.)

† Bede, 477: "Munuc ȝeȝyndlan."

‡ M. Paris, 997: "Quendam panniculum—, ipsum—Beati Amphibali—caracallam;—in—panniculo quem caracallam vocant."

§ Leland's Coll. iv. 3: "Tunicam interiorem."

to change the clergymen of his cathedral into monks, came into the quire just before the service began, with a number of "cowled cassocks" in the arms of a servant; ordered the clergy there assembled for the service, to "throw off their clerical habit," in throwing off their uncowled cassock with their gown, and actually inducing some of them to strip for assuming "the monastic garment †." Nor can I refrain from expressing my wish, at the close, that the cassock, long or short, the *caracalla*, as used short by the Gauls, or as lengthened out by Antoninus ‡, was still the discriminating habit of the clergy in these moments of peace; when it was worn at a period, in which it became the very mark for persecution, the very attractor to the lightning of it §.

The parish thus distinguished by the name, thus revering the memory, and thus honouring the statue of that genuine saint, Germanus, became the largest in Cornwall, being reckoned to be seven miles in length, half as many in breadth, and twenty in circumference ‖. Yet the population of the whole is still slender; all the houses within the

† Wharton's Anglia Sacra, ii. 219: "Paratis quamplurimis monachorum *cucullis*, die "quo communio—cantabatur chorum intravit, vestes quas paraverat secum deferri faciens.—"Igitur (inquit)—apprehendite—vestem monachilem—. Nonnulli ex illis statim, abjecto "clericali habitu, monachi facti sunt."

‡ Spartian, 416, 417: "Vestimento—demisso usque ad talos (quod antè non fuerat), unde "hodieque Antonianæ dicuntur caracallæ *hujusmodi*," so *long*.

§ Salmasius asserts the *caracalla* to have always had a hood or cowl, "Nunquam caracalla "sine cucullâ;" and Bullet derives the very name from the circumstance, "*Car*, tête, *Cal*, "couverture." But, as there is not a shadow of authority for giving hoods to the *caracallas* of Antoninus, or of Gaul, so Bullet's derivation is not of the slightest consequence. He has played his gambols too much in this fairy land of his, to be respectable in derivations. The original word I believe to be still preserved in Erse, and to be its *Carachulkamh*, an upper garment, which in pronunciation (I apprehend) would be sounded like *Carachulla*; and to be radically the same with *Carrugh*, *Carruch* (A.), *Corwg*, *Corwgl*, *Cwrwgl*, or *Cwragl* (W.), *a coracle*, Celtic words signifying leather (Hist. of Man[r]. ii. quarto, 300-302), that first material used in making garments, and that which has peculiarly lent, in Malmesbury, 122, Saville, &c. the title of *super-pelliceum*, or *surplice*, to the garment worn over the cassock in divine offices.

‖ Willis, 147.

compass

compass of it, even those of the very village included, being computed not long ago to be less than three hundred and thirty ¶. A plant set late in the season, is always backward in its advances; unless some peculiar richness of soil, or some peculiar art of improvement, lends it an extraordinary growth. But what additionally proves the parish to have been later in time than its neighbours; Coldrinneck, though all in the parish, and paying all its small tithes to the church of St. German's, yet pays its great to the church or parish of Mynheniot, and so shews itself to have been formerly a member of Mynheniot.

S. Germans Church parochial, before it became episcopal.

The church of St. German's, then, was parochial before it became episcopal. Cut off as the Cornish were from their original bishop and see at Exeter, by the Saxon reduction of East-Devonshire; they were to form a new bishop, and to fix a new see for themselves. But, on the plan of settling both in a village preferably to a town, no church could be selected for the settlement of both in it, except what was previously parochial. That this was actually the case at St. German's, is finally apparent from the very church itself. Constructed as the old part evidently was *for* a bishop, it was as evidently constructed upon *the site of a preceding church.* On the eastern face of the southern tower, is a plain water-table at present; projecting from the very stones of the tower, to cover the junction of the roof with them; and now standing *above* the present roof, even *two or three feet* above it. This proves the tower, as it contains six bells at present, to have been the *campanile* of a previous church; and to have had the present church attached to it, when the previous was rebuilt for the cathedral of Cornwall. But this cathedral appears to have been lower in the roof, than the merely parochial church before, by all the distance between the present roof and the ancient water-table. Built during the last moments of Roman residence in this island, or just after the Roman departure out of it, the parochial was raised probably with some of the Roman loftiness of architecture. But when the cathedral came to be built, two ages of trouble and anguish and desolation had passed, over all the regions

¶ Willis, 147.

of the Roman empire. The tide of conquest, that had once flowed on so vigorously from Italy, that had long reached its highest water-mark, and now been at a full stand for some time; receded rapidly, leaving those shores of Britain, which it had covered so usefully with its waters, to be possessed by sea-monsters of the foulest kind. The cathedral therefore partook in this humiliated state of Britain; rose not, though a cathedral, to so lofty a pitch as the parochial church before; and would indeed have certainly taken the parochial for its own uses, if this had not necessarily wanted what was considered as essential to a cathedral, what in fact lent it its very denomination of a cathedral, a *cathedra* or throne for the bishop in the eastern wall of it.

From the sight of our cathedrals in England, less august indeed than the cathedrals of France or Italy, yet grand in their dimensions and dignified in their architecture; we are inclined, in the obsequiousness of intellect to perception, to expect an amplitude of size, a loftiness of ceiling, and a mode of construction happily bold or venerably extravagant in itself,

Snatching a grace beyond the reach of art;

when a cathedral is placed before us. But from the spirit, predominant at one time, of placing cathedrals in villages; we find our ideas of cathedrals considerably lowered, and are led to expect a cathedral even less august in England, than a cathedral is in Wales at present. So in Leland we read this account, of what was once a cathedral at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire: "the body of the abbaye chirch dedicate to our Lady," the church being, like our own at St. German's, both abbatial and cathedral, "servid "ontille a hunderith yeres syns, for the chife paroche chirch of the "town," and thus was equally parochial too with our own *. In so many points extraordinary does this church coincide with St. German's! Yet even this parochial, abbatial, and cathedral church, remained within a hundred years before Leland's visit, roofed in part with *mere thatch*. "A preste of Al-Halowis," says the same author, "shot a shaft with "fier into the toppe of that part of S. Mary chirch, that devidid the est

* Itin. ii. 76.

"part,

"part, that the monkes usid, from [that] the townesmen usid; and "this partition, chauncing at *that* tyme to be thakkid yn the rofe," though it was not in Leland's, "was sette a fier; and consequently al "the hole chirch (the lede and belles melted) was defacid †." Such was Sherborne cathedral then; while St. German's was as much superior to it as our English cathedral is to a Welsh one at present ‡!

Traces of the Rectory House at S. Germans.

In thus building the parochial church of St. German's at first, it was from such a physical principle of attention, as we have previously seen giving name at a very early period to the Damnonii of Devonshire §, and as the necessities of local situation compel the Cornish to observe at this day; fixed by the king of Cornwall upon the eastern side of a hill, in order to guard it from the rifling winds, to which all Cornwall is exposed from its pointed projection into the vast Atlantic on the west. A house also was constructed for the rector, upon the same principle, at a point lower on the side of the hill, though not so low as what was afterwards the ground of the priory. When lord Eliot rebuilt the church-front of the priory some years ago, he dug a hollow way along this front, large enough to admit the passage of a cart; he formed vaults in the ground towards the church, ample enough to contain the wood or the coals requisite for the use of the family; covered over the arched roofs with turf; and only threw light into *those* by several grates in *these*. In this operation, he discovered what were clearly the foundations of the rectory-house. The ground, as far as the work proceeded towards the church, appeared *full of walls, ranging in all directions*, but *all laid invariably* in a mode, very different from the manner of the present times, very different from the manner observed in the foundations of the priory, but the very same as is frequently seen in *the walls of the Romans* among us, upon two or three courses of stones *placed edgewise*, or (as the mode has been properly denominated for the sake of distinction) in the *herring-bone* fashion. So strikingly does this

† Itin. ii. 77.

‡ So the cathedral of Norwich was *ambulatory* to the reign of Rufus, and was sometimes fixed "in vico qui Elmham dicitur, in *sacello ligneo*." (Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 407.)

§ Ch. i. s. 2.

discovery come in to confirm my general train of reasoning here, to fix on the ground a rectory-house antecedent to the priory, to give it almost all the ground betwixt the priory and the church, and to leave only a way of access to the chapels in the north aile of the latter. The churchyard, therefore, extended only to the east, the west, and the south of the church; and *for that reason* continued to extend so, even within our own days. Such was the state of the ground when Athelstan came to St. German's. Then he preserved probably a part of the rectory-house, certainly left the foundations of it to rest in the ground, and raised his priory lower down the hill, partly upon rock, partly upon sea-beach, and all at the head of that little bay, which nature had there formed as a *diverticulum* from Tiddiford creek. By this the tide came up from the creek and the Liner to the very foot of the priory walls; and, in recovering this from the dominion of the salt-water, lord Eliot has lately won twenty-five acres of land. Even within these very few years a building remained upon the site of the rectory-house, running out at right angles from the western end of the church-front of the priory, stretching up towards the church itself, and being perhaps the last remains of the rectory-house; perhaps the old hall of the house, as the whole was a long narrow room, used only for a laundry. Besides this, there was even a garden upon the ground, commonly denominated the Church-garden, and the aged representative of the rectorial probably.

Thus occupied by a garden and buildings was the ground on the north side of the church; and the churchyard was necessarily thrown to the other sides, reaching out on the east up to the end of the present lawn, and ranging on the west up to an ash-tree there. But lord Eliot, a few years ago, induced the late bishop Keppel, and the late chancellor Carrington, to have the whole of the churchyard levelled on the east and west, to prohibit sepulture for the future in any part of it, and to order a new burying-ground for the parish at a little distance. This was a great point gained for the accommodation of aspect to the priory, as well as for the convenience of dryness to the church. Solely to this improvement do we also owe some discoveries related before, and the

priory

priory now, for the first time, turned its *face* upon the church. The rectorial house, from its close vicinity to the church, assuredly turned its front away from it, and faced about to the bay. The priory certainly did. This, adds Mr. Willis, in 1716, "fronts to the river,—and has a "court before it, adorned with a strong pier by the present proprietor, "Edward Eliot, esq.—against the banks of the river*." It was forced to front so, by the rectory-house interposing betwixt it and the church, so coming closely to it. It therefore turned its back upon the church, and presented its face to the bay. The prospect on *that* side was all obstructed, but on *this* was open and large. Yet now, when the back-front has been rebuilt by lord Eliot, when it has been lengthened out at one end into a long gallery for pictures, when this has been made the general sitting-room of the family, and when it necessarily looks out towards the church; the back-front has become in effect the principal one, and has assumed all the consequence that its position originally challenged for it. Another point, however, was still wanting to the perfection of the whole. The unsightliness of the churchyard from the windows, had become more than ever an object of moment to my lord's taste, and had, therefore, been removed by my lord's management. But now the last remains of the rectorial house were torn down, the rectorial garden was destroyed, and the churchyard in view was all levelled into a lawn with the ground of both.

Yet curiosity is willing to ask, and vivacity is eager to answer, what was the form of a rectorial house generally in these ages. We cannot indeed turn up the ground here, in order to trace the dimensions of the substance by the outlines of the shadow, and ascertain the rooms by the foundations. These are now all removed, and the knowledge which they could communicate has vanished with them. Yet we have a resource still left for information, on this hitherto unexplored point. The sun often ministers his light by the moon, when he himself has sunk in the ocean. We have a rectorial house still existing within the county, still shewing all the greatness with all the littleness of an

* Willis, 149, 150.

ancient

ancient parsonage, being the latest perhaps that was ever built upon the ancient model, and so standing the fair representative of all the ancient at present.

A College at S. Columb.

"Contiguous with the churchyard" of *Saint Columb*, says Hals, "was a college of black monks or canons Augustine, consisting of three "fellows, for instructing youth in the liberal arts and sciences *." This author must always be allowed some confusion of ideas; and he here confounds objects that are very distinct, fellows, canons, and monks, by turning his "three fellows" as reported to him (I suppose) from some seeming tradition, into canons or monks, as seemingly reported to him by history. For "*I take it*," as he adds immediately, "to be *one* "of those *three* colleges in this province, named in Speed and Dugdale's "Monasticon, whose *revenues* they do not express, nor the *places* where "they were extant; but tell us, that they were dedicated to the Blessed "Virgin Mary, the lady of angels, and were black monks of the Au-"gustines †." He thus builds an assertion bold and positive, on a surmise frivolous and false. But he must frequently be allowed something more than confusion, even an unfaithfulness to his very authorities, a citation of testimonies directly opposed to him, or a falsification of them for serving his own purpose. Accordingly "those *three* colleges "in this province, named in—Dugdale's Monasticon," as consisting of "black monks of the *Augustines*;" are actually *three* thus noted there,

"Can. *S. A.* Bodmyn Pr. 270 - 0 - 11
"Can. *S. A.* Lanceston Abb. 354 - 0 - 11
"Can. *S. A.* S. Germani Abb. 213. 243 - 8 - 0 ‡"

Where their "revenues" are all *expressed*, and their "places" are all *specified*. The college of St. Columb, therefore, cannot possibly be one of the three; being no abbey of either black or white monks, and no priory of either Augustinians or Dominicans. In fact it was merely the PARSONAGE-HOUSE, denominated a cottage here, as I believe such houses, or their sites, to be still denominated in various parts of England; and as I particularly remember the site of one to be denominated at Eccles,

* Hals, 62. † Ibid. ibid. ‡ Monasticon, i. 1039.

near Manchester. A parsonage-house, indeed, was called a college originally, because it contained a collegiate kind of family, and a collegiate kind of school within it.

"The retainers of the church," I have said formerly concerning every parish-priest among the *Saxons*, "consisted of six persons under the "rector, the deacon, sub-deacon, and acolyth, the exorcist, lector, and "ostiary:" but "the priest and deacon only were reputed to be in holy "orders; the rest were denominated clerks, and even in contradistinc-"tion to these, and have transmitted the name to their successors, the "parish-clerks of the present period; and, as they assisted in the ser-"vices of religion, they had seats in the chancel with both, and their "stalls remain in many old parish-churches at present." There "they "have frequently induced our antiquaries, without reason, without "authority, and in mere ignorance of the ancient custom, to suppose "the churches to have been formerly *collegiated**." So I once said without any the slightest knowledge of the present case, yet with a seemingly pointed reference to it; I said so merely from the canons of the Saxons, and from the constitutions of the French cotemporary with them. Thus, then, were formed those first colleges of clergy in our island, the immediate parents of what we have denominated colleges since, and stamping a parental likeness upon their progeny; *these* being several priests incorporated into a society for the service of a church, while *those* were merely the laical retainers of the church under the deacon and priest of it: both, however, were societies regularly collegiated, and both resided in what were popularly entitled colleges. "The "same custom" also "prevailed in France; mention being incidentally "made" in the *capitula* of the Franks, "of the '*clericos* quos *secum* "habent presbyteri'†."

But there was another circumstance in these parsonage-houses which united with the preceding to gain them the appellation of colleges. Each house was a *college* or *school* for *education*. "The clerks" in it, as I

* Hist. of Manchester, ii. quarto, 427. † Ibid. 430.

equally

equally noted once, "were all destined for holy orders; each *priest* "was *previously* a *clerk;* and persons were gradually promoted through "every of the inferior offices, to the diaconate and priesthood. The "proper instruction of them for orders was committed to the care of "the priest, as the education of youth in the monasteries was consigned "to the abbot; and the priest and abbot, therefore, were equally denomi-"nated the rector or governor." Hence then is derived that very appellation for a beneficed parish-priest among us, which is the most ancient in origin, most dignified in sound, and most advantageous in revenue; which we naturally consider as relative to his parish, but here find referring merely to his school. Nor was this all the school that a parish-priest kept in his house; he "had other pupils with his clerks: his house, "in reality, was a little academy for the sons of the neighbouring gentry, "as the bishop's was another and a greater. This curious and unnoticed "particular appears plainly in the Saxon constitutions. Let the *bishops* "willingly *teach schools* and *instruct*, says the twenty-sixth ecclesias-"tical law of Canute; and let every *priest* have *a school in his house*, "says the twentieth canon of Theodulf. The *bishops*, abbots, and "*rectors*, are required as early as 747, to keep their *families* in *continual* "*application* to *reading;* and for that purpose to *confine* the *boys* to the "*schools*, and *train them up* to the *law* of *sacred knowledge;* that, being "thus instructed, they may become in all respects *useful to the house of* "*God*, and *the spiritual ornaments of it.* And *if any good man* will "send his *children* to the *priest*, says another canon of a *later* date, the "*priest* ought to *teach them* willingly, *not expecting any reward from* "*their relations*, except *what they voluntarily give**." We even find the same practice on the continent, mention being incidentally made in the *capitula* of the Franks, not merely concerning the "clericos quos "secum habent presbyteri," but also of the "scholarios" that every presbyter had; and some directions being given for the government of these schools †.

So diffused over the continent, equally with the island, this primitive provision for the elementary or the plenary education of our youths, we

* Hist. of Manchester, ii. quarto, 428. † Ibid. 430.

may

may be sure continued for ages afterward in both; even till *other* societies were formed, and *other* buildings erected under the *retained* appellation of *colleges*, for the more formal, more public, more general purposes of education. We accordingly see it continued for the elementary *in this very college* at St. Columb, even *beyond* the erection of such buildings, and the formation of such societies. "*In this college*," notes Mr. Hals, very happily from private information, "temp. "Henry VI. *was bred up* John Arundell," bishop of Exeter, "a younger "son of Renphrey Arundell of Lanherne, esq. sheriff of Cornwall "3 Edward IV.; *where he had his first taste of the liberal arts and* "*sciences*, and was *afterwards placed* at *Exon college* in *Oxford*; "where he stayd till he took his degree of Master of Arts, and then "was presented by his father to John Booth bishop of Exon, to be "consecrated priest, and to have collation, institution, and induction "into his *rectory of St. Columb*, which" was "accordingly per-"formed*." So long did the parsonage-house continue to include clerks, with others, in a collegiate society and a collegiate school within it: the clerks were training certainly for orders, and all the others were assuredly so. Nor did the school cease entirely at the parsonage-house, as we see from this anecdote; till *grammar-schools* (so public and endowed buildings for teaching the two languages of literary antiquity were now called) arose from the beneficence, and were kept under the patronage, of bishops or of rectors, by the side of their cathedrals in cities, or near to their parish-churches in towns. Even then the clerical schools, which in the reduction of rectories into vicarages, and the consequent contraction in the size of the priest's house, must have been frequently kept in the churches themselves, were in the churches kept still, and are so kept at various parishes of Cornwall to this day. In this very parish of St. Columb, where no such reduction has taken place, and the parsonage-house still exhibits its big bulk to the eye, we find the school transferred to the church, and the transfer proved by a melancholy incident; as "in the year 1676," we read in Hals, "the greatest "part of this church of St. Columb was casually blown up with gun-

* Hals, 63.

 "powder,

" powder, by three youths of the town, *scholars therein*, who, in the " absence of their *master* and *the rest of their companions*, ignorantly set " fire to a barrel of gunpowder, the parish-stores, laid up in the stone " stairs and walls of the rood-loft †." The private schools, too, that are now kept by clergymen all over the kingdom, are derived equally from the ancient institution of a school in every parsonage-house; the boarders yet forming a sort of collegiate society, and the pupils yet composing a sort of collegiate school within the walls of the house. Only the masters are bound down no longer, as the rectors of well-endowed churches were formerly, and as the masters of well-endowed schools are from them at present, to act " not expecting any reward " from their relations, except what they voluntarily give;" but are obliged to stipulate with the relations precisely, and compelled to require remunerations from them periodically.

Such, then, was the college at St. Columb, the parsonage-house of the parish, a society of clerks, and a school for education! The name, however, remains only in the site; yet the circumstances of the site confirm the truth of my reasonings. It is about an acre of ground, *encircled on every side by the glebe*, as having been originally the central part of it; it lies close along the western side of the churchyard, and is accessible only across the churchyard itself, or by a lane leading down to the church-stile. Near the union of this lane with the churchyard, and pushing up to the college, are the rector's *barn* and the rector's *mowhay* at present; *this* for stacking his corn in mows, *that* for threshing it out into grain, in the still-existing mode of Cornish husbandry. These are on the *southern* side of the college, while on the *northern* is what was formerly denominated *the college mowhay*, what is so denominated in a terrier as late as 1727, but is popularly called *the college meadow* at present, *a field still belonging to the rectory* *. The college itself,

† Hals, 62.

* The very terms of the terrier are these: " A meadow called *the court park*, or church " meadow," now the parsonage meadow; but by its ancient name evincing the college to have been also called the court, " bounded with the houses that were lately Geo. Cham-
" pion's,

itself, however, is now annexed to the manor; the Arundels, I suppose, like some other patrons of churches, having considered patronage to mean pillage, yet beginning with petty peculations of sacrilege upon the church committed to their protection; first leasing the site, probably from the rector, on a small acknowledgment of rent, as they have leased some garden-grounds adjoining, and then urging their tenants of *that*, as by report they are now urging their tenants of *these*, to refuse all payment to the rector. To know the process used in past depredations upon the church, we must look to the course pursued in the present; such selfishness always crawling like a snail in one slimy path, yet moving slowly in its progress from a fear of sacrilege, and generally skulking under cover in a dread of detection. This house is traditionally reported to have ranged along the *southern* side of the ground, but must certainly have covered it all nearly, and could have ranged on that side merely in the final remains of it: there, however, the remains continued in a fair form of building, though used only for the meanest of offices, till the commencement of the eighteenth century. "It happened," adds Hals, "a poor youth of Bridport, in Dorset, about eighteen years "old, in the month of July, anno 1701, travelling into those parts in "quest of service, applyed to one Mrs. Crews, of Colomb town," then inhabiting the end house on the west, at the great church-stile, "who "had possession of *those houses*," as still several rooms, "for her alms "and a night's lodging, who accordingly ordered her servant Gilbert to "place him in *some* of the college-houses, *made stables of*; who at "night, with a lanthorn and candle," though in July, necessary therefore from the darkness of the rooms, "conducted him to the same; and "having some occasion that called him thence, before the young man "had prepared his bed, left the lanthorn and candle in *the stable*, and "went forth thence, *locking the door thereof*, and *carrying with him* "*the key*, and told the youth that in short time he would return thither "again, and fetch the lanthorn. But it happened the young man fell "asleep, and his guardian keeper neglecting to come as he promised,

The College, turned into stables, burnt in 1701.

"pion's, and the houses of Richard Calloway on the *east*, the college mowhay on the *south*, "and the glebe lands on the *west* and *north*." The knowledge of these I owe to the obliging spirit of the Rev. Mr. Paul, of St. Columb, now rector of Mawgan adjoining.

" the candle (it seems) burnt through the lanthorn, and set fire to *the* " *straw and hay* in that place, and so kindled into a great flame, which " approaching the lad as he slept, awaked him, who in vain ran to the " *doors* and *windows*, [the latter] *barred with iron*, in order to make " his escape; but he could by no means get out at either, neither *could* " *the townsmen* that came to quench the fire at night *use any means by* " *force to open the door;*" only *one* door now noticed, as only *one* before, though *doors* in the plural are noticed between, therefore a pair of folding doors probably; " the party that had *the key*, as aforesaid, " being wanting," and " no person knowing whither he was gone; " neither did he appear till *the whole* college-houses *were in a raging* " *flame of fire*, which *consumed them* and the youth together *." That last remainder of the ancient college of St. Columb, appears from this, the sole account which we have of it, to have been a room with only one door to it, but to have had other rooms adjoining, yet all accessible only from that; to have had windows barred so closely with iron, as to prevent all passage through them; to have had a door likewise so strong in its substance, that no violence from without could break it down; and to have equally had a lock so massy in its bolts, with hinges so tenacious in their hold, that the violence which could not break down the door, could as little force the fastenings upon it. All these circumstances combine to shew us, that the room, which from its position appears to have extended east and west, was what we shall see in a structure immediately succeeding this, the *chapel* of the college, still entered by its original door, now partitioned off in its length into several rooms, but having its passage into them successively through the first. Nor do any the slightest remains of this building now appear above ground, its garden only remaining upon the western side of the site, there extending along the side with its ancient fence of a wall, even still exhibiting an ancient face in a part of the wall, and in the relics of a buttress six feet wide †.

Yet when did this college, so turned into stables, and so consumed by flames, cease to be the parsonage-house? The very man, who is

* Hals, 63. † From the Rev. Mr. Paul I derive the local notices.

the

the last known pupil of the college, is the first of the rectors who lived out of it, by transferring the parsonage-house to its present site. He being "resident," says Hals, "upon this rectory [rectory's] glebe lands;" that is, in this very college in which he was educated, "gave him "*opportunity* to *build the old parsonage-house still extant thereon*, and "moated the same round with rivers and fish-ponds, *as sir John Arundel*, "*knt. informed me**." He thus removed the house from its vicinity to the church and the town, from its airy elevation upon a height, and from an elevation rendered more airy by the sweeping of the winds around the obstructing church, to a position still upon the glebe, still near to the church, but sequestered from the town, and lying snug in a romantic valley. This valley is just at the back of the church, narrow in its dimensions, formed by two parallel ranges of gently swelling hills, and watered at one of them by a lively brook. Here the rector placed his new house, occupying the whole breadth of the valley, standing directly at the foot of an oblique descent from the church-hill, and having the rest of the valley extended in length before it. But he "moated not the same round" in a love of *pleasure*, as Willis states him to have done, "with rivers and *fishponds*;" nor did he moat it about, as others may surmise, in a military mode for *security*; but he laid out the ground in that castellated style of grandeur which was adopted by the gentry and imitated by the clergy; several parsonage-houses in the kingdom being equally moated, I believe, and one at Warrington, in Lancashire, being partially moated still, I know. He then walled up the sides equally with the bottom of the moat, throwing (as tradition reports, as symmetry requires, and as the piers still indicate) a drawbridge across it in front, before it erecting a gateway that remained a few years ago all mantled over with ivy; and deriving into it, not "rivers," as Hals in the usual exaggerations of childishness writes, but the lively brook above mentioned. Yet what is much more remarkable in itself, more level with our present course of observations, and more striking from the castellated form before, he laid out the house on a plan of disposition *within*, adapted *to all the forms of a college*;

The Rectory House at S. Columb.

* Hals, 63.

and

and it stands, as I have noted before, a fine model of the primitive colleges, or ancient parsonage-houses of this island. In front it has a porch, not set in the middle, but very much upon one side, the south; and a lobby runs from it, leaving three rooms on the left, with a hall on the right: these constitute two sides of a narrow oblong quadrangle behind, of which the other sides are constituted by the old kitchen, the back-kitchen, the grand staircase, and some rooms above. The three on the left of the lobby, I apprehend to have been the school for the clerks or pupils, and the parlour for the rector; as the first room, now partitioned slightly into two, shews an old doorway without in the wall where the chimney is, and as close to the porch within is a small private staircase in the thick wall, now from the lobby, but formerly (I believe) from the room, ascending up to chambers overhead: the first chamber into which this brings us still exhibits that large arch of its original window, which is known to have turned the pipe of the inserted chimney upon one side. From this we mount by three steps into the chamber over the porch, as we equally ascended once by a single step through a doorway now blocked up, but still evident, into another chamber: the first, therefore, was the dormitory of the pupils or clerks, I apprehend; the second of the deacon presiding immediately over them; and the third of the rector presiding over all. The old kitchen is still marked out to the eye of curiosity by rising all open to the roof, and by shewing a broad tall arch filled up with stone, so resting upon a thick transome beam of timber, and in the Cornish fashion, having two divisions below, one for boiling, the other for roasting. The back-kitchen carries a chamber over it for the only servants then admitted into a parsonage-house, the men; and a stone staircase still remains at one corner ascending up to it. The only side unnoticed is a square kind of turret-like structure, containing the grand staircase up to a bed-room that was reserved for the bishop or the archdeacon, probably at the respective visitation of each. Such was the general disposition of the house, all collegiate in its figure! But its figure was more collegiate still. Facing the staircase was a few years ago a doorway into the hall. This room, rising all open to the roof like the kitchen, was calculated for the dining-room of the house, and by its length be-

came the medium of connexion to the whole, that by which the communication between the grand staircase, the kitchen, the back-kitchen, and the lobby was kept up. It remains in all its original dimensions at present, long, large, and lofty; so seems to give some scope for that charge of luxury which men sitting loose to religion, therefore sure lovers of luxury themselves, affect at times to fix upon the richer clergy. But such a size of a dining-room is no argument of luxury practised in it; it only formed a part of the collegiate economy then, as it forms in our universities now; it was then as necessary for the collegiate family as it is now; and it was then balanced, as it now is, by a chapel of equal dimensions. Up the grand staircase in our present parsonage-house, and close to the grand bed-room, is a room on the same floor with it, running east and west, lofty, long, and broad, coved overhead, pushing up to the front of the house, even projecting a little beyond it, and having a large window there; the unknown, the unsuspected, yet the certain chapel of the whole. This, therefore, was built at a period when, as in our colleges of Oxford and Cambridge at present, religion was considered to be the grand duty of life, when domestic religion was carefully cultivated in clerical houses, and when this was thought to be the most efficaciously exercised by those houses which could afford the convenience within a room appropriated entirely to the purpose. But as religion was made to stoop from its elevation, as domestic religion became less cultivated, and as the pomp of devoutness sunk away into the pride of life, the chapel either became a room for receiving tithe-renters, even though the hall presented itself as peculiarly calculated for the purpose, or was partitioned into two bed-rooms, with a new window struck out on the north for lighting one of them, or was formed as now into a drawing-room. Thus also has the school been partitioned into a parlour and a pantry, while the hall is modelled into another parlour, the passage through the length of it being supplied by a lobby at the back of it; the rector's parlour has been changed into a kitchen, the rector's bed-room into a maid-servant's, and the deacon's into a footman's; the chamber for the men-servants being unoccupied, with that for the clerks or pupils, while the bishop's or archdeacon's bed-room has received two stories of rooms over it, but still shews the seam of conjunction on the north wall without.

out. In this manner has the ancient and venerable form of a collegiate house been softened down a little into the fashion of a modern parsonage, yet still retains enough of its ancient form to be still venerable in its aspect; and when the veil is drawn aside from the glass, as it now for the first time is, still presents to the eye all the solemn features of a once collegiate parsonage, such as the college was by the church at St. Columb, and such as the parsonage-house equally was, we may be sure by the church at St. German's.

SECTION II.

Bells and Bell-Towers derived from the Romans.

I HAVE mentioned the southern tower of the church a little above, as the *campanile* of the church erected *before* the present nave of 936, erected *before* the present south aile of about 614, erected indeed so early as about 450. Nor let me be supposed, in mentioning this, to be confounding the order of chronology, and antedating by some ages the introduction of bell-towers: I am not in my own belief, and here engage to prove I am not in fact.

Southern tower of S. Germans built in 450!

We have been told, indeed, that bell-towers were first annexed to our churches in the *tenth* century, or possibly in the *ninth*; but we have been told so by an author that seems never to have had any right of dictating, that however has been allowed to do so by the constitutional timidity of scholars, and that I have repeatedly convicted of folly before. Let me now convict him finally. "It is highly probable," says Mr. Bentham, "that the use of bells gave occasion to the first and "most considerable alteration that was made in the general plan of our "churches, by the necessity it induced of having strong and high-raised "edifices for their reception. The æra, indeed, of the invention of "bells is somewhat obscure*; and it must be owned that some traces

* "Vide Spelmanni Gloss. ad *Campana*."

"of

" of them may be discovered in our monasteries, even in the seventh " century*; yet, I believe, *one may venture to assert* that such large " ones as required distinct buildings for their support, *do not appear to* " *have been in use among us till the tenth century,* about the middle of " which we find several of our churches were furnished with them by " the munificence of our kings †. And the account we have of St. Dun- " stan's gifts to Malmesbury abbey by *their historian,*" he means that excellent historian William of Malmesbury abbey, " plainly shews they " were not very common in that age," *of so great size,* as he should have added; " for," he says, " the liberality of that prelate consisted " chiefly in such things as were then wonderful and strange in England, " among which he reckons the *large* bells—he gave them ‡: but *from* " *this period,*" the *tenth* century, " they became more frequent, and in " time the common furniture to our churches. Bells, no doubt, at first " suggested the necessity of towers; towers promised to the imagina- " tion something noble and extraordinary, in the uncommon effects " they were capable of producing by their requisite loftiness and variety " of forms: the hint was improved, and towers were built not only for " necessary use, but often for symmetry and ornament in different parts " of the fabric, and particularly when the plan of a cross was adopted. " —This is the short history of the origin of towers and steeples—. *Pos-* " *sibly these innovations might begin under king Alfred,*" in the *ninth* cen-

* " Bedæ Hist. lib. iv. cap. 23."

† " ' Ethelstanus rex (circa A. D. 935) dedit quatuor magnas campanas Sto. Cuthberto.' " Monast. Angl. vol. i. pag. 40. lin. 52.—' Rex Eadredus duo signa non modica ecclesiæ " Eboracensi donavit.' Math. West. ad annum 946.—Rex Edgarus, circa A. D. 974, " ecclesiæ Ramesiensi dedit—' duas campanas, 20 librarum pretio comparatas.' Hist. " Rameseien. cap. xxii. edit. Gale."

‡ " S. Dunstanus,—' in multis loco [locis] munificus, quæ tunc in Angliâ magni mira- " culi essent, decusque et ingenium conferentis [ostenderent], offerre crebrò; inter quæ, " signa *sono et mole* præstantia—.' Will. Malmesb. de Pontiff. lib. v. edit. Angl. Sacr. " vol. ii. pag. 23.—' Dunstanus, cujus industriâ refloruit ecclesia [Glaston.],—fecit—signa " duo præcipua, et campanam in refectorio.' Will. Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccles. " pag. 324, edit. Galei.—Athelwoldus abbas monasterii de Abendone, regnante Edgaro " rege, ' fecit duas campanas, quæ in domo [Dei] posuit, cum aliis duabus, quas B. Dun- " stanus fecisse perhibetur.' Vid. Monast. Angl. vol. i. pag. 995, lin. 42."

tury*. But this history of their origin is as untrue as it is contradictory; Mr. Bentham having said at the beginning, "I believe one may "venture to assert, that such large bells as required distinct buildings "for their support, do not appear to have been in use among us till the "*tenth* century," yet resaying at the close, that "possibly these inno- "vations might begin" in the *ninth;* asserting also that "bells, no "doubt, at first suggested the *necessity* of towers;" but instantly adding, that "towers *promised* to the *imagination*," consequently *before* they were built, "something noble and extraordinary in the uncommon "*effects* they were *capable* of *producing*," not by the sound of the bells from them, but "by their requisite *loftiness* and *variety of forms*;" he thus ascribing towers to bells and to necessity, then reascribing them to an imagined anticipation of their beauty, and being grossly erroneous in all. His very progress of improvement is retrograde in itself; while his course, either retrograde or progressive, is all an aberration from the truth.

Bells and bell-towers introduced by the Romans.

The first towers to our churches undoubtedly were towers for bells. The very form of these tall and hollow cylinders of stone proves this to every eye; nor could any idea of the ornamental nature of towers to churches ever have been adopted, *till* towers had been constructed for use, *till* the mind had contemplated their utility, and the eye had begun to perceive their elegance or grandeur: all church-towers, therefore, were bell-towers at first, and the origin of *these* is the commencement of *those*. But *when* did towers commence at our churches? in the tenth century, in the ninth, or in what? To ascertain this, we must recur to the origin of bells themselves, not as noted by Mr. Bentham, but as standing on the records of history. These bells do not merely shew "some traces" of themselves, "in our monasteries, even in the *seventh* "century;" they came in *with the Romans*, were introduced into use among us *from the Romans*, and had even towers erected for them at our churches *by the Romans*. These will seem paradoxical assertions, I doubt not, to all those who have only half thought, and only half in-

* Bentham's Ely, 29, 30.

quired,

quired, concerning the origin of bells and bell-towers; even to the great mass of antiquaries in the nation. But I undertake to substantiate their truth, by positive facts.

Bells in Roman Temples.

Suetonius informs us in a passage, replete with intelligence peculiarly curious to the antiquary of manners, that "when Augustus," in a personal attention to public devoutness, which appears striking to a religious mind even at present, "repaired *every day* to the temple of Jupiter "Tonans, which he had dedicated to him in the Capitol," *at* which was the way of entrance from the low level of the Forum *into* the raised area of the Capitol, *of* which some remains still stand upon the ascent of the Capitoline Hill from the Forum, in three fluted pillars with a Corinthian capital to each, and with a channelled architrave over all, forming (I believe) that very portal of the temple through which was the way of entrance into the Capitol, but supported only in their tottering state by the very ruins, that have successively accumulated from themselves around the base, even more than half way up the shaft of the pillars; "he dreamed the Jupiter of the Capitol," on the eastern eminence of this forked hill, "complained, that *his* worshippers were "withdrawn from him, and himself replied he had put Jupiter Tonans "there, *as a mere porter to him.*" So common was a porter's lodge at the gate of a superior house in the city of Rome during the days of Augustus; even as common as it is among ourselves at present! "Au-"gustus," as Suetonius adds, "in consequence of his dream, imme-"diately hung a fringe of BELLS round the eaves of the temple," in a taste surprisingly similar to what we see in Chinese temples at present. The similarity too is enhanced exceedingly by the use which we find made of bells, in a building of Italy prior by some ages to Augustus's; Porsena, king of Etruria, erecting for himself near Clusium, his capital, a funeral monument, which had, upon a square base of stone, five pyramids, "so finished above," says Pliny, from Varro, "that on the "head of each was placed an orb and cupola of brass, *from which hung* "*bells suspended by chains,* that *were shaken with the wind,* and (as was "*formerly the case at Dodona)* emitted *sounds audible to a great*

"*distance**." This is in the highest style of Chinese fantasticalness. Augustus's was in a lower degree of the same style. We thus discover what we should little expect, not merely the use of bells at Rome in the days of Augustus, at Clusium in the earlier days of Porsena, and at Dodona in the still earlier days of Græcian antiquity; but an use of them with *Egyptian* pyramids at Clusium, and in a temple, asserted by Herodotus to have been founded by an *Egyptian*, at Dodona, two incidents that seem to favour the sometimes supposed derivation of the Etrurians with the Chinese, from Egypt, and the latter an incident, which would account for "the vocal groves" at Dodona in a manner more strictly historical, than even what history itself delivers to us †. Yet

* Pliny, xxxvi. 13: "In summo orbis æneus et petasus unus omnibus sit impositus ex "quo pendeant excepta catenis tintinabula, quæ vento agitata, longè sonitus referant, ut "Dodonæ olim factum." But, as Pliny's account of this monument agrees very remarkably with what is called the monument of the Horatii and Curiatii at the present day, let me just note the grand point of similarity; Porsena's being "monumentum—lapide *quadrato*—, "supra id *quadratum* pyramides stant *quinque*," while "the remains of *five* pyramids "are," yet at the latter, "—on *one large base*" (Wright, 372, edit. 2d); and "this—"great mausoleum—is *of coarse and rude* architecture, *five* round broken pyramids spring "from a large *square* base." (Mrs. Miller, iii. 115.) *This*, however, being at Albano, to the south, and *that* at Chiusi, to the north, precludes all possible identity between them; yet shews the present monument to be a structure like Pliny's, about the same age, but older, and erected by some king of Latium.

† Homer, in Iliad xvi. 233-235, speaks of this temple and its priests the Selli; but Mr. Pope has made the bard speak what he never meant, and what he never knew, the oaks plainly, from *his silence, becoming oracular after his time.*

Whose groves the Selli, race austere, surround,
Their feet unwash'd, their slumbers on the ground.

So far Homer speaks, but it is only Mr. Pope that subjoins thus:

Who hear from rustling oaks thy dark decrees,
And catch the fates low-whisper'd in the breeze.

"Herodotus writes in his second book," says Mr. Pope, "that the oracle of Dodona was "the most ancient in Greece;—but what he adds, that it was founded by an Egyptian "woman, who was the priestess of it, is contradicted by this passage of Homer, who shews "that in the time of the Trojan war this temple was served by men called Selli, and not by "women." So much the testimony of Homer proves, but it does not "contradict" the testimony of Herodotus. The temple had women before the Trojan war, but men after it, and

Yet how did Augustus's fringe of bells correspond with any part of his dream? He put up the bells, as Suetonius subjoins, "because BELLS "GENERALLY HUNG AT GREAT GATES ‡." So derivatively Roman, and so very ancient is that practice, which has been ever supposed to be merely a modern refinement, and is *yet* introduced only into the more refined parts of our island; of having a bell at our door and at our gate! So very common too were bells then at Rome; however antiquaries have ridiculously triumphed at finding them,—seven centuries later!

Dion Cassius relates the same story, with a greater circumstantiality in the whole, yet with a variation in a single particular, that unite together in one evidence, and shew bells to have been *still more* common at Rome then. Having mentioned "that Augustus dedicated the "temple of Jupiter, surnamed Tonans," he goes on to relate his anecdote. "Because of the newness of its name and aspect," he cries, "and because of its erection by Augustus, but principally because those "who ascended to the Capitol came first to this temple; men generally "repaired to it, and worshipped in it." Just so persons repair to churches on the continent, and pay private worship to GOD in them, those temples and these churches standing equally open through the whole day. Thus our abbey-church of Westminster stands also open, not indeed for the purposes of devotion, but for the gratification of curiosity; not a man, a woman, or a child, ever thinking of kneeling in any part of it, or offering up any private prayers in it. So much more an alien to our breasts and to our lives, is the spirit of prayer in our reformed country of Britain, than it is in the unreformed regions of the continent, or than it was among the very heathens themselves! "Augustus,

and (as appears from Strabo, cited by Mr. Pope himself) sometimes both after it. But the evidence of Herodotus is too particular to be ever set aside; the priests of Egypt and the priestesses of Dodona uniting in one information to him, that the temple at the latter was ordered to be erected by a priestess from the former, even from the very town of Thebes in it.

‡ Suetonius, 91, Augustus: "Cùm dedicatam in Capitolio ædem Tonanti Jovi assiduè "frequentaret, somniavit queri Capitolinum Jovem, cultores sibi abduci, seque repondisse, "Tonantem pro janitore ei appositum. Ideoque mox tintinnabulis fastigium ædis redimi- "vit, quod ea ferè januis dependebant."

"therefore,

"therefore, dreamed that the Jupiter of the great temple was angry, "at being thus made second only to the other; and that he himself an-"swered, he had put Jupiter Tonans there, only to be *a watchman* "*before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.*" So ready was the ignorance of heathenism, and from the very consciousness of its own ignorance, to split the same god into many, to discriminate parts from parts by the mere contingency of local worship, and to set them all in open hostility against each other! So peopled with malignity too was the very heaven of heathenism, and so spiteful were the very gods of its universe; *these* the exact counterparts of the worst of men, the reflected images of the devils themselves, and turning *that* into a very hell! "And," as Dio proceeds with his narrative concerning Augustus, "as soon as it "was day he hung BELLS round the temple, to realize his dream; FOR "those who are watchmen by night about great houses, CARRY EACH "OF THEM A BELL, that *they may give an alarm to one another when* "*they will**." So expensively were the great houses of Rome guarded by watchmen at night, and such danger were they in of being attacked by robbers! But Dio has certainly lost the point of the allusion, as the hanging of bells round the temple bears no similarity to the bearing of a bell in a watchman's hand; as it evidently refers only to the hanging of bells at the gate of a great house, and under the eaves of a porter's lodge there. Yet Dio has usefully informed us by his error, that in his time at least, and (as he himself believed) in Augustus's too, a nightly watch was kept about the houses of the great at Rome; and that these watchmen, like those in some of our dock-yards, held each a bell in his hand, ready to give an alarm to his brethren of the watch.

* Dio, liv. 733. Τον τȣ Διος, τȣ Βροντωντος επικαλȣμενȣ, ναον καθιερωσε—των ανθρωπων, το μεν το, προς το ξενον και τȣ ονοματος αυτȣ και τȣ ειδȣς, το δε και, οτι υπο τȣ Αυγȣστȣ ιδρυτο, μεγιστονδε, οτι πρωτῳ οι ανιοντες εις το Καπιτωλιον ενετυγχανεν, προσερχομενων τε αυτῳ και σεβοντων, εδοξε τον Δια, τον εν τῳ μεγαλῳ ναῳ οντα, οργην ως και τα δευτερα αυτȣ φερομενον ποιεισθαι, και εκ τȣτȣ εκεινῳ τε ειπειν (ως ελεγεν), οτι Προφυλακα τον Βροντωντα εχοι. Και, επειδη ημερα εγενετοι κωδωνα [κωδωνας] αυτῳ περιηψει βεβαιων την ονειρωξιν. οι γαρ τας συνοικιας νυκτωρ φυλασσοντες. κωδωνοφορȣσιν, οπως σημαινειν σφισιν οποταν βȣληθωσι δυνωνται. "Puto legendum κωδωνας," says an annotator; "*nempe oculis subjiciunt veteres nummi*, qui hodieque exstant, et a doctis viris sunt expressi.—Glossa-"rium, Insula, νησος, συνοικια." Notes on Suetonius, 91, Augustus.

We

We find even bells used in *families* at Rome. When they were so common at the outside of the houses, we might be very sure they were not uncommon within. But we need not leave the point to an inference, as we have positive proof of it. The Romans indeed, we see from several passages incidental but significant in their authors, roused their servants in a morning by BELLS, and ordered their servants by BELLS to bring in their meals during the day; just as commonly, as we have the breakfast, the dinner, or the supper bell among ourselves †. So grossly has the origin of bells been falsified in the conceits of our antiquaries! The Romans had them in ordinary use before they settled in Britain, and introduced them, as they introduced all their implements of use, with all their instruments of convenience or elegance, among the provinciated Britons.

Bells in Roman houses.

Yet where shall we find that they cast their bells of a large size, raised towers for the reception of them, and so made them the deep-toned summoners to devotion in our churches? This, no doubt, must seem almost impossible to be found; as it restricts us to the purely Christian period of the Roman residence in Britain, and as we have scarcely any memorials of the period among us. Yet we see towers to churches on the continent, see them equally in every province of the Roman empire, see them at all the great churches in every province, and see them considered as ancient, even appearing as ancient, in all. We are therefore very sure, as far as analogy can give surety, that our church-

† "Lucianus de Mercede conductis indicat, ita familiæ signum dari solitum ad evigilandum, "εωθεν τε υπο κωδωνι εξαναστας, αποσεισαμενος τȣ υπνȣ το ηδιστον, συμπεριθεις ανω και κατω; ibidem aliquanto "post, ἐτι αυτȣ ταυτα διαλογιζομενȣ, ο κωδων ηχησε, και χρη των ομοιων εχεσθαι και περινοστειν. De hôc "signo, vel tubâ, quâ etiam utebantur, Seneca epistolâ xcv. 'Transeo pistorum turbam, "transeo ministratorum, per quos signo dato ad inferendam cœnam discurritur.' Idem "De Brevitate Vitæ, 'Quantâ celeritate, signo dato, *glabri* administeria decurrunt'." Notes on Suetonius, 91, Augustus. *Glabri!* Were the Roman servants shaved like monks upon the crown of the head, and so called colloquially *bald-heads?* No! They were all shaved, like the servants in our royal kitchen at present. So likewise were the stage-dancers, and the stage-players. This Plautus shews in one short passage, "Glabriorem reddes mihi "quam volsus ludius est." The word "volsus," however, shews the "baldness" to have been produced by the operation, not of the razor, but of the tweezer.

towers

towers derive not their origin, any more than our churches themselves do, or than our very Christianity does, from Alfred or from any of the Saxon sovereigns. Our church-towers came undoubtedly to the Saxons of our island, as they came to all the other nations of the empire, from that full fountain of refinement, which had been laid open by the Roman emperors, had carried its enlivening waters over all the provinces, and been peculiarly turned by Christianity into the channel of religion. The churches of the Romans in Britain must have had towers to them; and we fortunately have an account of one church which proves they had.

Roman Church at Canterbury with towers.

That church, which the Romans built within the city of Canterbury, afterwards became the cathedral of all England under the Saxons, and continued to exist below the Conquest. We therefore obtain a description of it. From this we find that it had a TOWER to it, that it had even TWO TOWERS. It was consequently in the very style of some of our grander cathedrals at present. One of these towers was certainly for bells, the other perhaps for symmetry alone. Yet Mr. Bentham, all unconscious of the fact, refers the erection of towers "not only for "necessary use, but often for symmetry and ornament," to some *indefinite* period *posterior* to the *tenth* century. But what is still more exactly in the style of our grander cathedrals, both the towers were at *the very intersection of a cross.* Such a position is considered by Mr. Bentham, as the full consummation of improvement in the towers of our churches; he affirming towers to have been built for use and for ornament in his indefinite period, "*particularly* when *the plan of a* "*cross was adopted.*" Yet *can* my averment possibly be so true as I state it, and have escaped all notice before? *Can* the professed historian of church-building, its first form, and its subsequent improvements in this island; one too, who has an oracular consequence given him by many, because of some supposed intimations from a man of real knowledge and real genius; possibly have been so ignorant as not to know, or so inattentive as not to consider, a description sweepingly subversive of all that he says upon the subject? That my averment *is* true, whatever imputations its truth may throw upon Mr. Bentham,

let the following translation, a literal one, of Eadmer's description of the church at the moment of its demolition, after a continuance of about seven hundred years, testify to all the world. This church, "constructed by the hands of the Romans," says Eadmer, "—had at "the MIDDLE of the LENGTH of THE VERY HALL," meaning the nave and chancel as forming one room, "TWO TOWERS, which projected be-"yond the ailes of the church;—*one* of them, that to the *south*, having "an altar in the middle of it," under its four supporting arches, "de-"dicated to the honour of pope Gregory the Blessed," so dedicated when the Saxons were converted to Christianity, "and in the side "of it that principal door of the church, which was anciently by the "English, and is even now, denominated the South Door;—but the "*other* tower was built on the *northern* side, and *opposite* to *that*, in "honour of the blessed Martin, having the cloysters in which the "monks conversed around" the projecting sides of "it." We have thus the bells, the towers, even the double towers, and the very cross itself, of our present cathedrals, all united together in this Roman church of Canterbury; and two towers fully equal in antiquity, even prior in time, to our own tower at St. German's*.

But

* Twisden, 1291, 1292. Gervase from Eadmer: "Erat—ipsa—ecclesia—Romanorum "opere facta—; sub medio longitudinis aulæ ipsius, duæ turres erant, prominentes ultra "ecclesia alas; quarum una, quæ in austro erat, sub honore Beati Gregorii papæ altare in "medio sui dedicatum habebat, et in latere principale hostium ecclesiæ, quod antiquitus ab "Anglis, et nunc usque, *Suthdure* dicitur;—alia verò turris in plagâ aquilonali, e regione "illius, condita fuit in honorem Beati Martini, claustra in quibus monachi conversabantur "hinc inde habens." That in this description "Aula" means *the nave and the chancel as forming one room*, the following evidence will suffice to shew. The description of Eadmer begins with, "Majori altari quod in orientali *presbyterii* parte *parieti contiguum* erat. Porro "aliud altare congruo spatio ante positum prædicto altari erat—. Ad hæc altaria *nonnullis* "*gradibus* ascendebatur a *choro cantorum*." Nor let us fancy this "chorus cantorum" to be that lower part of the chancel or quire, which contains the stalls of the clergy and the seats of the singers within it, and has frequently an ascent of steps from it towards the altar. No! The context expressly forbids us; the words running thus, "ascendebatur a choro "cantorum quam *criptam*—Romani vocant." Then the crypt he describes in general thus; "*subtus* erat—fabricata, cujus *fornix* eo in altum tendebatur, ut *superiora* ejus *non nisi per* "*plures gradus possent adiri*." He next describes it in particular, thus: "hæc [cripta] "intus ad *orientem* altare habebat," &c. "via una, quam curvatura *criptæ* ipsius ad "*occidentem*

But let me notice a second church, of the same age nearly with that of Canterbury, certainly built with that by the Romans, yet existing even to the present moment. It exists indeed all unknown, lost in its remoteness from the capital of the kingdom, and buried in the unfrequented wilds of Scotland. There it still maintains a kind of lingering existence, attracting no foot of a traveller to it, engaging no pen, no pencil of a native, and just shewing itself evanescent in its ruins.

Whitern in Galloway, a Roman Church, built by S. Ninian.

Within that detached and peninsulated part of Scotland, which forms the county of Galloway, and was occupied by the NOVANTES in the time of the Romans; the geographer Ptolemy, about the year 140, mentions a town, which he calls LUCOPIBIA*, and which has naturally been supposed to be WHITERN there, a town known to have been formerly considerable, though much reduced at present. Whitern indeed appears to have actually been, what Lucopibia equally was, the

"*occidentem* vergentem concipiebat, usque ad locum quietis Beati Dunstani tendebatur," who was buried "ante ipsos gradus." And he finally traces it all under the chancel and the nave, thus: "inde ad occidentem *chorus psallentium* in *aulam ecclesiæ porrigebatur*, "decenti fabricâ," by its underground position, its flight of steps, and its door, "a "frequentiâ turbæ seclusus." Having thus described the undercroft from east to west, Eadmer returns up stairs into the chancel. "*Deinde* sub *medio* longitudinis aulæ *ipsius*," &c. But he closes all with this account: "*Finis* ecclesiæ ornabatur oratorio Beatæ Matris "Dei Mariæ; ad quod, quia structura ejus talis erat," the chancel being on *the same level* with the nave, and the *ascent* being only to a chapel, "non nisi per gradus cujusvis patebat "accessus." This Roman church, therefore, differed considerably in its interior disposition from its successor, the present church; its chancel floor *not* being raised upon arches, and ascended by steps, above and from the level of the nave, to admit an undercroft exclusively below it; but its nave running on a level with its chancel, and both having one common undercroft below them. Yet Gostling, 89, Somner, 92, 93, and Battely, 7, all overlook this striking difference, and represent the old church as vaulted exactly like the new. Battely also turns the undercroft into the nave, because it is denominated the "chorus "psallentium;" as if a nave could be a quire or a quire a nave, as if the "chorus psallen-"tium" was not the same with the "chorus cantorum" before, and as if the "chorus "cantorum" was not expressly denominated the "cripta." And Mr. Denne, in Arch. x. 42, has made the quire indeed distinct from the crypt, but carries the crypt under the quire only; as in xi. 378, 379, he unites with Battely to contradict himself, by confounding the crypt and the quire together.

* Ptolemy, ii. 3.

capital

capital of the Novantes in the days of the Romans. Richard of Cirencester, that lately discovered and very happy illustrator of our Britain during the settlement of the Romans within it, whom *I* may claim the honour of placing in his merited pre-eminence of authority over our antiquaries, writing thus, "the metropolis of the Novantes is Lucophibia, alias Whitern*." At this Lucophibia, or Lucopibia, as the capital of the kingdom, was fixed the seat of a bishopric; when Christianity came with her wand of power, transformed the idolatrous fools of the earth into worshippers of the only God, and modelled realms into sees for their spiritual emolument. This was about the close of the fourth century †. And Nynian, a native of Britain, but educated at Rome, became the first prelate of it ‡. He was born undoubtedly in the southern parts of the isle, which, in the progress of Christianity from Gaule, were converted before the northern; had there been converted, sent to Rome for his full instruction in the new religion, and at Rome ordained a clergyman of it. Then that holy fire of zeal, which burned within his bosom, pushed him upon an apostolic journey into the unconverted regions of the north. He came into Galloway, as tradition happily unites with history to tell us, and began his work of love among the heathen Novantes, in the neighbourhood of their capital. "He "was the first," as Malmesbury reports expressly, "who preached the "Gospel of Christ to them §." In this work he seems to have encountered all that opposition, which the very apostles themselves, armed as they were with powers of a miraculous nature, and carrying either life or death in the words of their tongues, we know to have equally encountered. Tradition, which dwells upon his name with fondness to the present moment, points at a cave a few miles from Whitern, a dark and dismal hollow, scooped out by the hand of nature, guarded by the sea at its entrance, and denominated St. Nynian's Cave by the people; reporting it to be his place of refuge from the fury of persecution.

* Richard, 29: "Metropolis horum [Novantum] Lucophibia, alias Casæ Candidæ."

† Bede, iii. 4.

‡ Ibid. ibid. "De natione Britonum, qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et mysteria "veritatis edoctus."

§ Malmesbury, 155: "Primus ibidem Christi prædicationem evangelizavit."

The dismalness and darkness of this hollow, therefore, were then relieved to the apostolic saint, we may be sure, by the happiness which he felt in his soul from his ministerial labours, from the solid, the permanent, the everlasting good which he was endeavouring to do for the people, and from the very persecutions which he was sustaining for so acting. It has often re-echoed probably to the voice of prayer and praise from this illustrious confessor, while the scream of the sea-gull near the mouth, and the dashing of the waves at a little distance from it, precluded all danger of disclosure by the sounds. But the apostles triumphed at last, over a world contending strenuously for its own wretchedness; and our British apostle prevailed finally, in converting the Druidical heathens of Galloway. A church now stands upon the sea-shore, much nearer than the cave to Whitern, and only three miles from it; which marks the first step of his triumphant advance towards the capital. It is very small, but built of stone, now lying most confusedly in ruins, yet averred by tradition to have been the first oratory that was erected for our religion within the present Scotland. Here then St. Nynian fixed his standard at first, and hence he moved with it over all the region. All the Novantes became Christians, the residence of the king was appointed the equal residence of a prelate, and the converter of the nation was ordained the bishop of it. He therefore erected a cathedral for himself at Whitern *; that very cathedral which is now the object of our inquiry. Yet, when he had done this, he was urged by the heavenly impulse, which had brought him into Galloway, and carried him in a course of victories through it; to engage in a new mission, and to attempt a new scene of success. This kind of impulse appears very strange to the philosophy of modern times; and *is* very strange to *all* certainly, *in whom* philosophy has laid its icy hand on the heart, and benumbed all the livelier activities of religion within it. Yet

> . . . . . Spirits are not finely touch'd,
> But to fine issues.

And a Nynian was one of those finer spirits, that could not bear to think of a large portion of his countrymen lying buried in the vicious

* Bede, iii. 4: "Cujus sedem episcopalem,—ecclesiâ insignem, &c."

ignorance

ignorance of heathenism, while the sun of Christianity was at once enlightening and warming the rest of them. He therefore left his episcopal charge awhile, in order to carry that sun with him to the north, happily as he had brought it already to the south, of the Roman province between the walls. A mission for the conversion of heathens *within our own island* sounds awfully curious to our minds at present, because we are accustomed only to think or talk of missions into such distant countries as Africa, America, or the East Indies. He set out from Whitern for the north; but by this time all the province of Valentia had been converted, and there was no scope for his labours short of the farther wall. He therefore passed the wall, ventured among the Caledonians beyond it, but kept to the tribes along the eastern coast; and gloriously consummated his progress of preaching there, by the conversion of all between the sea and the mountains §. Thus did his zeal spire up victorious in a second flame of fire, and ascend in a still nearer approach to its kindred fires of heaven: this being done, he returned to Whitern, closed a life of exemplary greatness, and was buried in his own cathedral ‖.

From this cathedral did the capital assume a new name, even its present one of WHITERN. Camden indeed had formerly conjectured its name of *Lucopibia* in Ptolemy, to be merely a vicious reading in the Greek of that author, for Λευκ' Οικιδια, the original reading, and answering exactly to *Whitern* in signification *. This conjecture carried such a fair face of probability with it, that the human mind, which loves to rest upon certainties, and is always gravitating to them as its natural centre, adopted the conjecture implicitly in our antiquaries; even Richard of Cirencester seemed to come in lately, and establish the conjecture for ever: "the metropolis of the Novantes" he calling "Lucophibia, alias

§ Bede, iii. 4: "Australes Picti—multo ante tempore, ut perhibent, relicto errore ido-
"latriæ, fidem veritatis acceperant, prædicante eis verbum Nyniâ, episcopo reverentissimo
"et sanctissimo viro."

‖ Ibid. ibid.: "Ubi ipse etiam corpore—requiescit."

* Camden, 692, 693.

"Casæ

"Casæ Candidæ †." Yet the conjecture is demonstrably false, and even Richard concurs to prove it so: the appellation of *Whitern* in Saxon, or of *Casa Candida* in Latin, is derived solely and purely from this cathedral; Bede assuring us expressly, that "the place is popularly "called *Ad Candidam Casam*," or Whitern, "*because* Nynian built "there *a church* ‡." Ptolemy therefore could know no more of the name than he knew of the cathedral occasioning it; while Richard's repetition of the name in *Latin*, with only the variation of a single letter in it, proves it to have been an appellation unvitiated in itself, and British in its origin: this was superseded so early as the Roman times by a title descriptive of the cathedral, the town being then denominated "Ad Candidam Casam" by the Romans, and from them by the Saxons afterward "At Whitern." Yet how came the cathedral to attract such a denomination to itself, and then to extend it over the town? Bede tells us that it was occasioned by "Nynian's construction of the church "with *stone*, in a mode unusual among the Britons §." Yet that churches were constructed with stone before, is evident from the churches of St. Saviour and St. Martin in the south, and from the oratory of Nynian himself in the north. For the former half of this reason, perhaps, the historian Malmesbury restricts the observation of Bede to the Britons of Galloway alone, and places the unusualness of the building, not in the stone itself, but in the polish given it ‖. And Major, the Scottish historian, varies equally from Malmesbury as from Bede, but comes much nearer to a rational account of the name, by building Nynian's church of stones, unusual to the Britons, *because white* *. But the fact is, that the stones of the cathedral in the ruins of it, in the church erected at a small distance from it, and in the houses of the town constructed much out of the *palace* and the *priory*, the latter yet remaining in part, but the former so torn up from the very foundations as to have corn growing upon the site, appear to be principally of the sort called the common whin, and occasionally of the

† Richard, 29: "Metropolis horum Lucophibia, aliàs Cæsæ Candidæ."

‡ Bede, iii. 4: "Vulgò vocatur *Ad Candidam Casam*, eò quòd ibi ecclesiam—fecerit."

§ Ibid. ibid.: "Ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Britonibus more, fecerit."

‖ Malmesbury, f. 155: "Ecclesiam ibi lapide polito, Brittonibus miraculum, fecerit."

* Major, f. xxiii.: "Ecclesiam de albis lapidibus Britonibus insolitam."

free, the free partly white but *partly red*, the whin neither naturally white nor made white by polishing, and both supposed at Whitern to have been brought from the adjoining region of Cumberland. So egregiously does every hypothesis fail us in accounting for the name! Nor should I have been able to account for it any better than my predecessors in this walk of history, if a custom still retained at Whitern had not suggested an idea, if I did not see the passage in Bede very capable of admitting this argumentatively just, and if I had not found this alone to be capable of giving an import to the passage historically just. Some of the inhabitants in the town coat over their houses without, in a manner well known among ourselves at present, by mixing up coarse sand with lime, and dashing it upon their walls. This *rough-cast*, as it is denominated, is particularly used in Cornwall, for the same reason probably that causes it to be used at Whitern, as a preservative against the damp atmosphere of both regions, so sure to be imbibed by wall stones undefended, and throws a pleasing aspect of whiteness also over the appearance of a house. But the practice appears from Bede to have been uncommon among the Britons of Galloway, of the north, and of the south, at the time; as he says the town was called Whitern, "because Nynian built a church at it of stone, *in a manner uusual* to "the *Britons*" at large. Nynian brought the practice probably from Rome itself; first tried it in a coat upon the *priory-house* of his cathedral, and so attached an appellation of whiteness to it, to the church of which it was the mansion annexed, and to the town as it stood in a proximity with both. Nynian's priory-house is mentioned expressly with Nynian's cathedral by a very early chronicle; *this* as "his *church*," but *that* as "his *mynster* *;" both, therefore, as built by Nynian himself; and a mynster or priory-house is so uniform an appendage to a larger church, that this very chronicle, in its very commencements, speaks of such a church expressly as a monastery or mynster †, and we still give the appellation of mynster or monastery to many a large church among us. Thus was the priory-house of our large churches the regular deno-

* Saxon Chronicle, p. 21.

† A. D. 659: "Mynſteꝛ on to tymbꝛianne." Sax. Chron.

minator

minator of the whole; and it was very particularly so at Whitern, the priory-part being the only one capable of being denominated a *Casa*, an *Ern*, or a small habitation.

This cathedral continued to the days of Bede, three hundred years after the burial of Nynian within it. Nynian, he tells us, "built a "church *in which* he himself rests ‡."—"The South-Picts," adds the Saxon Chronicle, "were baptized by bishop Ninna,—*his* church and "*his* mynster *is* at Whiterne,—*where* he resteth §." Nor was it destroyed so late as the days of Malmesbury, he speaking of "Whitern" as "a place *in which* the blessed confessor Nima rests—; the name is "derived to the place from the work of Nima in erecting a *church* "there," not yet destroyed, as it is plain from his silence, and yet containing the body of its builder ‖. Malmesbury even recites the names of some of its prelates, the successors of Nynian in his see; Pectelm, who was bishop when Bede concluded his history ¶, Frethewald, Pecwine, Ethelbrith, and Bealdulf *. "Nor do I find any more," he cries, "because the episcopate speedily failed ††;" and so makes a gross mistake in point of fact, Florence adding Heathored to all, and Fordun even marking the continuance of the see to 1235 ‡‡. In the days of Bede the bishopric of Whitern had been raised into an archbishopric, though Malmesbury has overlooked the incident, and Pectelm sat the first archbishop in the throne of Nynian §§. But the town began to decline, and the throne was sure to be removed. Tradition says, with its usual and almost unavoidable confusedness of chronology, that *in ancient times* the trade from England and France, to Ayre and Glasgow,

‡ Bede, iii. 4: "Ubi ipse etiam corpore—requiescit,—ibi ecclesiam fecerit."

§ Sax. Chron. p. 21.

‖ Malmesbury, f. 155: "Candida Casa vocatur locus—, ubi beatus confessor Nima "requiescit;—nomen loco ex opere inditum, quòd ecclesiam ibi—fecerit."

¶ Bede, v. 33. But Malmesbury forgets that Bede hints at other bishops in iii. 4, saying that Nynian rests at Whitern, "cum pluribus sanctis."

* Malmesbury, 155.

†† Ibid. ibid.: "Nec præterea plures alicubi reperio, quòd citò defecerit episcopatus."

‡‡ Florentius, 565; and Fordun, i. 520-523; ii. 61.

§§ Bede, v. 33.

was

was carried on through this part of the country, and Whitern made the depository of it. But, as the very strong tides of the Mull of Galloway ceased to be formidable, navigation probably ventured round the Mull with its freight, and the goods were carried to those towns by water: Whitern thus sunk in its consequence, and the archiepiscopate was transferred to Glasgow. Yet the cathedral building still continued at Whitern very nearly to the Reformation; Major speaking of it exactly as Bede speaks, saying in the sixteenth century as Bede says in the eighth, "Nynian constructed a church, *in which* Nynian himself rests; "which place was *then* possessed by the Britons," meaning the Saxons in the days of Bede; "but *now, for* many years past, the place and *the* "*body* of the saint have been owned by the Scots ‖." It actually continued to the very Reformation; Leland speaking of it as "a handsome "church, built of *squared* stones, and taking the appellation of Whitern, "which is *even now* the temple of Ninian, the capital city of Gallo-"way ¶."

This cathedral, however, appears not to have weathered that storm of rapacity which was engendered by the Reformation every where, and which blew with double violence in Scotland; there the cold and sullen genius of presbyterianism being averse to the dignity, and dead to the sanctity of a church built by a saint, a confessor, an apostle, a new church was erected only about eighty feet in length, with thirty in width, even standing *north and south*, carrying *a ball for a cross* at each end above, and having *neither tower nor bell* to it.

"Still so perverse and opposite,
"As if they worshipp'd GOD in spite!"

The cathedral was thus left in all the dignity of despised grandeur, like the ruins of Rome amid the pigmy sons of the world's conquerors, or

‖ Major, f. xxxiii.: "Ecclesiam—construxit, ubi ipse Ninianus," &c. "quem locum "Britones tunc occupabant,—sed jam a multis annis—locum et sanctum corpus Scoti "habent."

¶ De Script. Brit. 57: "Bella ecclesia, ex quadratis constructa saxis, Candidæ Casæ "nomen recepit; quod et nunc fanum Niniani, urbs Gallovidiæ prima."

like the elegant magnificence of Palmyra to the Arab pitching his tent for the night beneath it; to suffer the devastations of time, to be shaken with the howling winds, and to be buffeted by the driving rains. It is traditionally said, however, to have been *four times as large as the new church;* that is, as far as such vague and general mensurations can ascertain length or breadth, 320 feet long, with 120 broad, or about one seventh short of Exeter cathedral at present*. Yet a few rude vaults, in one of which I suppose St. Nynian to have been buried, though his tomb has perished with his church; some coarse walls at a little distance, but both (I presume from their coarseness and rudeness) the very relics of the original church, and eight arches out of the whole of the original number, now compose the remains of this venerable cathedral. Some of the remaining arches are round, and some peaked; the round appearing to be what "the Norman ambition of building," I apprehend, reconstructed just after the Conquest, because they have *much work* upon them; a ram's head (a signature, I suppose, of the building bishop) at the top of one of them, and other ornaments of wreathings, *all in a good state of preservation;* but the peaked, as ancient, very plain. And as the whole is found experimentally to have been cemented with the lime of those shells with which the fields around are inexhaustibly replenished, so is it known by report from the *fathers* of the present generation, to have been as late as their time built in THE VERY FORM OF A CROSS, with a bell-tower assuredly at the intersection of it †.

Yet there is one instance more to be noticed by me; one which is *not* buried in its own remoteness, and lost in its own solitariness of position, but overlooked from its very familiarity, unseen from its very brightness, and therefore sure to appear still more astonishing to my reader. We have yet a church of the Britons existing almost entire near London,

* Willis's Not. Parl. ii. 261.

† For the local particulars I am indebted to the obliging kindness of Dr. J. Davidson, the minister of Whitern; a kindness that would have been more obliging still, if he had answered my second letter as punctually as he answered my first, and as readily replied to the questions which he invited as to those which I obtruded upon him.

existing

existing unrecognised by our antiquaries, even by its very historian, yet shewing a British bell-tower and a British cross at the present moment. This is the abbey-church of SAINT ALBAN'S, of which we have lately had an historian in a clergyman of a keen eye, an active understanding, and a lively judgment; yet the real history of which, as to the date of its component parts, is utterly unknown to the public still. The owl, that legitimate and authorized type of learning in general, but from its fondness for moping in darkness, for screaming from the ruined tower, or for fluttering about the ivy-mantled temple, the peculiarly apposite type of antiquarian literature in particular, is even more confounded by the effulgence of noon-day about her than by the gloom of midnight.

British Church of S. Alban's, with bell-tower.

That in ten or twelve years after the martyrdom of St. Alban, a church was erected upon the present ground in honour of his memory, appears evident from Bede and Gildas together*. This church continued to the days of Gildas, as he tells us in his lamentation over the success of the Saxons, that "the place of sepulture for the bodies of the "holy martyrs, and the scenes of their sufferings;" meaning, however, the scene and place only of St. Alban's sufferings and sepulture, as is evident from the only martyrs that he has noticed, Alban of Verulam, Aaron and Julius of Caerleon, "if they had not been *taken* from our "countrymen in a mournful *divorce* made by the barbarians, would "have impressed upon the minds of *beholders* no small ardour of divine "love†." The church of St. Alban, therefore, was not destroyed by the invading Saxons, as the credulity of antiquarianism has hitherto believed; but, as the language of Gildas proves, was only taken from the Britons. Nor was it destroyed by the Saxons after their settlement, in any paroxysm of zeal for heathenism: they who spared the churches of St. Martin and St. Saviour at Canterbury, were not likely to destroy

* Bede, i. 7: "Redeunte temporum Christianorum serenitate ecclesia est—exstructa;" and Gildas Hist. viii. "Bilustro supradicti turbinis necdum ad integrum adimpleto,—basi-"licas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt."

† Gildas Hist. viii.: "Sanctorum martyrum—corporum sepulturæ et passionum loca, si "non lugubri divortione barbarorum—civibus adimerentur, non minimum intuentium men-"tibus ardorem divinæ charitatis incuterent."

a church at St. Alban's. This church actually survived the heathenism, as well as the hostility, of the Saxons; became a celebrated church among them, upon their conversion to Christianity; and still bore its original name from the protomartyr of Britain. The fact appears so late as the eighth century of our æra, and the days of Bede; because that historian gives us a particular account of St. Alban's martyrdom, and speaks of his church as then existing, as "a church of wonderful work-"manship, and worthy of such a martyr*." This church, consequently, lasted to the days of Offa's visit to Verulam in 790, only fifty-five years after the death of Bede. Accordingly we see M. Paris, the private historian of the abbey, though under a gross delusion of belief that the Saxons had demolished the church before †; yet finding *then* on the site "a certain church, small in its size, constructed there with-"out the walls of Verulam, in honour of the blessed martyr, and con-"structed by THE NEW CONVERTS TO CHRISTIANITY ‡." In this church was the raised body of St. Alban now placed for the first time, and paintings, tapestries, with other ornaments, were hung upon the walls to decorate them §: M. Paris, indeed, avers this church to have been so decorated with ornaments, and so honoured with the body, only till a larger could be built ‖. Yet, as his own account proves it to have been built by "the new converts to Christianity," so Bede's brief description

* Bede, i. 7: Ecclesia est mirandi operis, atque ejus martyrio condigna, exstructa." It seems a very wonderful want of attention and thinking, that Mr. Newcome, the recent historian of this abbey, who, in p. 24, refers expressly to Bede for "a church—early erected "here," to St. Alban, "with admirable art, *though of timber and plank*," which Bede does not aver, we see, and his very notice of "admirable art," by implication denies; yet never refers to Bede for the existence of it in the days of Bede, and even intimates that it had been demolished long before. But Bede evidently speaks from vision, mediate or immediate, concerning the church; and proves he does so speak, by these words directly following: "in "quo videlicet loco," at the tomb of St. Alban, "*usque in hanc diem*, curatio infirmorum "et frequentium operatio virtutum celebrari *non desinit*."

† M. Paris, 983.

‡ M. Paris, 984: "Quandam ecclesiolam, ibidem extra urbem Verolamium a neophytis "in honorem beati martyris constructam."

§ M. Paris, 984.

‖ M. Paris, 984.

of

of the same church proves it *not* to have been what Paris presumes to call it, "a church small in its size," but what the decorations given by Offa argue it to have been, "a church of wonderful workmanship, and "worthy of such a martyr." Nor does even Paris mention any other church to have been built by Offa for his monastery, or to have been erected by Offa over the saint's remains; he mentions only, that "from "houses of most regular religiousness did Offa assemble a convent of "monks to the tomb," and "appoint an abbot over them *." He mentions only that Offa, "at his own expense, constructed all the "buildings except *an old edifice* which he found *erected formerly* out of "*the ancient edifices of the heathens* †; which was plainly as "an old "edifice," this very church of the Romans, now nearly five hundred years old, which was only supposed to have been "erected formerly "out of the ancient edifices of the heathens," *because* it was composed of the same sort of materials as they; and which, if so erected by the Saxons, could not possibly have been "formerly" erected, or be "an "old edifice" now, the Saxons of Middlesex and Hertfordshire being even converted to the Gospel merely about one hundred and thirty years before ‡. And he mentions only that Offa "in his monastery "which he had begun from the foundations, within four or five years "after he began the pious work, had in a style of excellence erected "nearly all the *officinal* buildings §;" all the buildings *officinal* to that, which was the principal and denominator of the whole—the church ‖. Nor does Paris note any other church to have been built for the relics or

* M. Paris, 986: "Monachorum—conventum ex domibus ordinate [ordinatæ] reli-"gionis—ad tumbam congregavit, et abbatem eis," &c.

† M. Paris, 986: "Ædificia omnia præterquam pristinum, quod invenit de veteribus "ædificiis paganorum pridem factum, sumptibus propriis construxit." Mr. Newcome has totally overlooked this remarkable fact.

‡ Bede, iii. 30.

§ M. Paris, 987: "Fere omnia officinalia ædificia laudabiliter in cœnobio suo, quod a "fundamentis inchoaverat, ædificaverat infra quartum quintumve annum postquam pium "opus illud inchoaverat." Mr. Newcome overlooks the language here, as he had overlooked the fact before, though he actually translates the language into "all the offices and necessary "buildings," p. 29.

‖ So *ecclesia* is used for the whole monastery in M. Paris, 986, &c. &c.

for the convent, by any of the Saxon abbots afterward. Yet he shews us Ulsin or Ulsig, the *sixth* abbot, encouraging a town that had now begun to rise on the outside of the monastery, by inviting persons to settle in it, by laying out a market-place for them, by assisting them with money or materials for the erection of houses, and even building no less than *three churches* for them *. But what *proves* Offa to have constructed no new church for his abbey, Aldred the *eighth* abbot appears only one hundred and fifty years after Offa searching into the ruins of Verulam, "laying up those materials which he found fit for an "edifice, and *reserving them for the fabric of the church;* as he had "*determined*, if he could be furnished with the means, *to tear down* "*the ancient church*, and *to build it anew* †." But, "when he had "collected a great quantity of materials for *the fabric of the church*, he "was prevented by an over-early death, and obliged to leave the work "undone ‡." His immediate successor, Eadmer, "did not disperse or "consume what Aldred had collected *for the construction of the church;*" even searched for more in the ruins of Verulam, and "reserved all that "were necessary for *the fabrication of that church*, which *he proposed* "*to fabricate to the holy martyr Alban;*" yet "did not so far please God "and the martyr, as *to erect and finish a house for the martyr him-* "*self* §." After him the intention was never revived by any of the Saxons, and even the very search for materials was discontinued by them all: yet the intention was never abandoned, as the materials in general remained entire to the Conquest, and the application of them was then begun ‖.

Thus

* M. Paris, 993.

† M. Paris, 994: "Quos invenit aptus [aptos] ad ædificia seponens, ad fabricam ecclesiæ "reservavit; proposuit enim, si facultates suppeterent, dirutâ veteri ecclesiâ novam con- "struere."

‡ M. Paris, 994: "Cum jam multam—ad fabricam ecclesiæ coacervâsset quantitatem, "maturâ nimis morte præventus, imperfecto negotio, viam universæ carnis est ingressus."

§ M. Paris, 994: "Adquisita—ad ecclesiam construendam, non dispersit vel consumpsit;" 995, "quæ ecclesiæ fabricandæ fuerunt necessaria, sibi reservaret, quam proposuit sancto "martyri fabricare;" 994, "non in tantum placuit Deo ac martyri, ut domum ipsius "martyris ædificaret et consummaret."

‖ These remarkable incidents in the history of St. Alban's church, so hostile and ruinous to

Thus we have deduced the church of the Britons down to the æra of the Conquest; when Paul, a Norman, became abbot, brought with him all the Norman spirit of building, and began the long-intended renovation of the church. "He re-edified," says Paris, "*this church* and "the other buildings, except the bakehouse and millhouse, out of the "materials collected and reserved by his predecessors*." The recent historian accordingly tells us, that Paul, who became abbot in 1077,

Partly rebuilt by Abbot Paul.

to Mr. Newcome's notions, are recorded faithfully by Mr. Newcome, in p. 34, 35. But then he has deprived them of all power of hurting him, by what I must call a little of the craft of authorship, at the very beginning. The words in M. Paris, 993, are uncommonly forcible, as the abbot's intention is declared to have been, "dirutâ *veteri ecclesiâ*," to pull down the *ancient church*, the church which had now lasted about six centuries and a half, which might therefore with strict propriety be called *ancient*. Yet how does Mr. Newcome deal with a language, so pointedly contrary to his opinions? He *rebates* its point, by this *too cunning* kind of version; the abbot being said by him to have "determined to pull down "the present fabric, which *had served for* a church." (P. 34.) Mr. Newcome will not call it a *church*, though M. Paris calls it such; says even in contradiction direct to Paris, that it had only "served for a church;" and, because it could not be *ancient* if built by Offa, while Mr. Newcome believes it to have been so built, suppresses entirely all Paris's mention of its *antiquity*. Such is history in the hands of hypothesis; a torch endeavouring to enlighten the stone-blind, a sun attempting to melt the polar ice!

* M. Paris, 995, says, that Leofric the tenth abbot sold "thesaurum ad fabricam eccle-"siæ diu antè reservatum, cum columnis, tabulatibus, in terrâ (ut dictum est) inventis, "cum materiæ [materiâ] etiam," or with the timber. Yet all so sold could not be much to the whole, as in 1001 we find that "iste [Paulus] hanc ecclesiam, cæteraque ædificia "præter pistorium et pinsinochium, re-ædificavit ex—materie—quam invenit a prædeces-"soribus suis collectam et reservatam." But Mr. Newcome adopts both, however contradictory, and even inflames the contradiction between them; consistent only in following his author through all contradictions very faithfully. In p. 36, he says, Leofric "sold *the* "*materials which had been gathered*, with *all* the columns or pillars, and stone-pavements "preserved out of the old city." Yet in p. 45, &c. uncopscious seemingly of his own tergiversation, he furnishes Paul with materials for rebuilding the church from what had been thus gathered. The "stone-pavements" too, which he finds in Paris's "tabulatibus" above, answering to the "antiquos tabulatus lapideos" of abbot Eadmer, he himself found, in p. 35 before, to be very truly "slabs of stone," as being equally "cum tegulis et "columnis," said there by Paris to be "ecclesiæ *fabricandæ* necessaria." And "the "materials which had been gathered" in Mr. Newcome, are merely "the money which "had been reserved" in Paris, "*thesaurum* ad fabricam ecclesiæ diu antè reservatum, *cum* "columnis, tabulatibus," and "*cum* materiâ."

"within

"within the first eleven years of his government rebuilt *the church* †." Mr. Newcome thus speaks a language as comprehensive as Paris's, and exhibits Paul for the rebuilder of the *whole*. Yet he instantly contracts his own language with Paris's, and attributes only a *part* to Paul. "When it is said by my author M. Paris," he cries, "that Paul rebuilt "the church; this must be understood only of *so much of the present* "*building*, as comprehends ‡" what is in truth and fact no part of Paul's building. What part then *did* Paul construct? This is pointed out to us by such decisive signatures, that we can only wonder in amazement at Mr. Newcome's missing them. "Just below the screen," he informs us himself, as he goes from east to west, beyond the screen, about the middle of it, "on the south side, are four or five arches and piers *of the* "*most beautiful style in the whole building* §." These therefore answer very exactly to that "Norman ambition" of building, concerning which we have heard so much before. But we have another signature, still more decisive. "As a mark of the antiquity of the—beautiful part," he adds himself, without perceiving the force of his own evidence, "there "may be seen at the spring of the arches the head of LANFRANC, of Offa "and his queen, and of Edward the Confessor; and over their heads are "the arms of England," &c.; "all cut in the Totternhoe stone, and "very entire at this day ‖." The head of Lanfranc appropriates this "beautiful part" of the whole to Paul, because Paul was a near relation to Lanfranc, even so near (according to the surmise of some about a century afterwards) as to be his son, and certainly beloved by him with all the affection of a father for a son; Paul being brought into England by Lanfranc, from his own abbey of Caen, made abbot of St. Alban's by the interest of Lanfranc, and supplied by Lanfranc with great sums of money for this reconstruction ¶. Here, therefore, "just below the "screen," we are certain of the hand of Paul. But can we trace his hand any farther? We can, by the guidance of Mr. Newcome, yet in contradiction to his purpose. "From the screen before mentioned to the "great west door," as we are told by him, "we see how the work did "*improve*," and in that as well as in the part immediately preceding

† P. 45. ‡ P. 45. § P. 94. ‖ P. 94. ¶ M. Paris, 1001.

here,

here, behold "all *the several specimens* of *good and complete building*.— "Indeed, *so* complete and perfect is the style of *these beautiful parts*, "that the authors may be thought to have *reached the summit of their* "*art*: for it is not only calculated for strength and duration, but the "proportion of the several parts of the arch and its columns is *most ex-* "*quisite*, and contrived with *so much judgment*, that they lose nothing "of their beauty, though placed more than forty feet above the eye of "the observer. *These specimens* of the *perfect* Gothic are *equal*, in "themselves, *to any work in any cathedral*; but yet, as *they consist* only "of *four or five* arches in *each specimen*, they appear not with that "commanding admiration [admirableness], which results from a whole "and complete building erected in this style*." These fine parts all unite to attest the fine architecture of the Norman Paul. Yet how the architecture of Paul comes thus to be broken into parts, into "several speci- "mens," with "four or five arches in each specimen;" Mr. Newcome never thinks of informing us, and we must therefore inform ourselves. The first specimen is "the beautiful part" of *four* pillars, that exhibits the head of Lanfranc upon the spring of one of its arches; and with this, therefore, as we may be sure, Paul *began*. He then pursued the work towards the western door, leaving (as Mr. Newcome's language implies, and his ground-plan shews) one pillar of the ancient church, different in shape and size from the others before; and beyond it forming a second specimen of *four* pillars, exactly the same as his preceding, but ranging up to the door itself†. Leaving the door in its ancient state, as I shall soon shew, he went on again upon the northern side, moved eastward, and formed a third specimen of *three* pillars ‡. Here then we have the whole of what was built by Paul; as the head of Lanfranc at the beginning, the beauty of the whole, with the separation into parts, the dissimilarity of these pillars from the others, and those attestations of history or remains, which I shall now produce, all unite to evince. Abbot Warren dying in 1195, after a government of near twelve years, John, his successor, "undertook the repair or rebuild- "ing of *the west front* of the church," says Mr. Newcome; and then

* P. 46, 94, and 95. † See the ground-plan at p. 306. ‡ Ground-plan, p. 306.

The west front rebuilt by Abbot John.

puzzles himself, as he well may, to account for this front being "ruinated" so soon after he supposes Paul to have rebuilt it §. But the ruinated state of it in so short a time, proves at once that Paul had *not* rebuilt it. Nor was *this* a mere repair, but a total reconstruction; made too, not by Paul, but by John, a hundred years afterward. Accordingly Paris acquaints us, that John "*tore down to the ground* the "wall of the *front* of our church ‖;" the western end being in full propriety denominated the front, because there, as at our own St. German's, was the grand doorway into the church, and the building was entered, as all long buildings should be, at the lower end. Nor was this front completed again till many years afterward ¶. This front then formed a second interruption, in Paul's fabrication of the church; and, after the next three pillars of the north, came an absolute conclusion to it. For *after them* appear in the ground-plan six pillars ranging up to the screen, the same in size and form with the one at the western end of "the beautiful part," first mentioned, and answering to that as well as to the "four—piers" of this part. "Directly opposite "to these" piers, says Mr. Newcome himself, are "on the north side "five" arches but six piers "of the most rude and ordinary" style *. These, therefore, like the one pillar, still existing on the south, and, like the western front, existing for nearly one hundred years after Paul's erection, are parts of the ancient church of the Britons, all left standing at the time of Paul's erection, and so remaining all except that front to this day. The rest are three sets of pillars, four, four, and three, that "consist only of four or five arches in each specimen," yet are all together "specimens of the perfect Gothic," forming "several speci-"mens of good and complete building," being even "equal in them-"selves to any work in any cathedral," in which "the authors may be "thought to have reached the summit of their art †."

Thus

§ P. 92, 93.

‖ M. Paris, 1047: "Murum frontis ecclesiæ nostræ in terram diruit."

¶ Ibid. 1054, as printed, but 1062 in reality, "Opus frontale," &c.

* P. 94.

† Mr. Newcome, p. 45, asserts that Paul, "within the first *eleven* years of his govern-"ment, rebuilt the *church* and *all* the *adjacent* buildings of the monastery, except the "bakehouse.

Thus far we have accounted for all that half of the church, which is to the west of the screen! Nor have we yet reached the object and aim of our investigation. We shall soon reach it, however. The same sort of pillars continues upon *each* side to the altar ‡; as we have seen six on the northern and one upon the southern, before. All this half too being "so much—as comprehends the *choir*—, the TOWER—, and the "*east end called the saint's chapel*, where stood afterward the shrine "of Alban, with the TRANSEPT north and south, and *part of the nave*, "*as far only as the screen*;—all—is of *one uniform style*, and in *the* "*plainest and rudest form of the Gothic* §." This therefore agrees completely in style with the six piers immediately on the north, described before as "of the most rude and ordinary" style. And both combine with the one upon the south, to prove all of them the grand remains of that ancient church, which was built by the Britons, which exists only in a single pier on the south of the nave, *west* of the screen, but shews no less than six piers on the north, even exists complete in the nave *east* of the screen, in the transept, and in the quire *.

The choir, tower, and transepts, very ancient.

Nor

"bakehouse and millhouse." He thus does wrong unintentionally to M. Paris, who says merely of Paul, that "iste hanc ecclesiam *cæteraque ædificia*," absolutely all whether adjacent or not adjacent, "præter pistorium et pinsinochium, re-ædificavit." But that M. Paris does not mean all which even *his* words import, is plain from two succeeding passages; in one of which he repeats, that Paul constructed "ecclesiam—cum *multis aliis* ædificiis" (p. 1002); while in the other he declares, that Lanfranc died when Paul had been abbot about *twelve* years; but Lanfranc's successor, Anselm, assisted Paul in *finishing* the *church*, "quod *imperfectum* erat in ædificiis *ecclesiæ* Sancti Albani juvit—*consummare*," and that Paul, in *the four remaining years* of his life, *completed all which he had begun*, "omnia "quæ incœpit laudabiliter consummavit." (P. 1004.) This second operation of Paul's is precluded by Mr. Newcome above. Yet in the very next page he admits it, as he hints at a part of the building being raised "in the *later* years of Paul."

‡ Ground-plan.

§ P. 45.

* Mr. Newcome, p. 46, asserts a part of the church, west of the screen, to have been built in the later years of Paul, *or* the "*beginning* of" his immediate successor "*Richard's* "*time*;" while all is attributed to Paul alone, as we have seen in a note before, by M. Paris himself. Yet, in p. 53 and 93, Mr. Newcome adds, that "abbot Richard—built "the screen," and a chapel near it; when Paris, who mentions the chapel, says not a syllable concerning the screen (p. 1006); when indeed Paris says, p. 1002, that Paul built the

Nor can any allegation from Mr. Newcome, as if these speaking varieties of architecture were produced by the difference of the materials used, have the weight of a feather in the scale. "One principal cause "of the plain and rude style of Paul's building," he cries concerning the *eastern* half of the church, and so mounts into the air instead of mining in the ground for his diamonds, "was this; that his materials, namely, "the Roman tile, would not admit of so many shapes and forms, "and elegant curve lines, as stone would, being *too hard to be cut*," when stone was not † !!! So readily can the disquisitive mind ascribe an incompetent cause, even to an imaginary principle, what every thinking one must refer to a difference of times; attribute equally rudeness and elegance of architecture to the Normans; and impute *that* to their use of certain materials, while it refers *this* to their disuse of them, as if a difference of materials could ever give a difference of architecture, and turn rudeness itself into very elegance; when, all the while, the

the *whole* church, "*totam* ecclesiam," and when the screen, lying so immediately close to Lanfranc's, with the other heads on the springs of the arches, "about fifty feet *below the* "*choir*" (p. 53), therefore arbitrary and artificial in itself, was apparently set up by Paul as the terminating line betwixt the old work and his new. But, at p. 93 and 52, Mr. Newcome is imprudent enough to affirm, concerning the *dedication* of the church under abbot Richard, in 1115, that *this* proves Paul to have "made a perfect new structure from "the ground, and not a repair of the old church;" though the church had been always *dedicated* to St. Alban, though it has continued *dedicated* to St. Alban ever since, and though the *dedication* of 1115, therefore, can mean merely the *re-opening* of it for service. The church of Ely, which was so burnt by the Danes, as that the clergy, "prout poterant, "*porticus ecclesiæ re-sarcientes*, divinum officium solvebant;" but which was so rebuilt by Brythnoth, that "*ex parte—lapsa*, velut nova, non sine grandi labore *adimplevit*, ac deinde, "tectis *reparatis* quæ fuerant igne consumpta, templum *rursus ædificatum*, non minus "eximium aut eminens quàm priùs, *apparuit*;" was yet *dedicated anew*, "dedicationis "diem obtinuerunt," and the dedication was merely a re-opening, "juxta ritum dedica-"tionis templi in hymnis et confessionibus Deum benedicebant, sicque post sancta missa-"rum veneranda officia—festum agebant." (Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 602, 604, 605.) The *same* church also has a reconstruction in one part, and an addition in another, yet is *again* dedicated. "Ipse—ædificavit," says the *same* historian, concerning a bishop consecrated in 1229, "novum opus ecclesiæ nostræ versus orientem a fundamentis—, ipse etiam "construxit de novo turrim ligneam versus Galilæam ab opere cæmentario usque ad sum-"mitatem—; novo opere constructo, tota ecclesia—dedicata erat." (Ibid. 636.)

† P. 45.

same

same sort of materials was actually used in the elegant and in the rude parts of the building! "Paul's building was *not* formed either wholly "or principally of the Roman tile." It was formed, as I have already shewn, "of the materials collected and reserved by his predecessors." What then were these materials? Ealdred's are declared expressly to have been "whole tiles and *such stones as he found fit for a building* ‡." Eadmer's are expressly said to have been "*ancient slabs of stone*, with "tiles and *pillars* §." And, when Paul at last applied them to their destined use, they are noticed as being the "the *stones* and tiles of the "ancient city Verolam ‖." The Roman *tile*, therefore, hardly constituted a part of Paul's materials; as the *stones* alone are pronounced to have been "found fit for a building." "This construction," however, cries Mr. Newcome again, concerning the *eastern* half of the church, "is "*said* to be entirely built of *brick*, that is, of *the Roman tile* ¶." By whom is this said? By M. Paris, as Mr. Newcome should have reported; but by Paris in such a manner, as precludes for ever Mr. Newcome's restriction of brick to tile. He who has just before averred Paul to have re-edified "the church and the other buildings—with the *stones* "and *tiles* of—Verolam," comes again averring Paul to have constructed "the church—with many other edifices, of *brick* work *." Tile therefore is not all that is meant by such work, as real bricks are at least included under the name. But in fact they are not merely included, now appearing to be the very "*stones*—found fit for a building," and, as such, *opposed directly* to tiles. So strangely has Mr. Newcome applied the assertion of Paris uncited, to a part of the church which (according to his own account) must be in *fact* and *reality* "entirely "built of—the Roman *tile*," because "the rudeness of this work is "*entirely* owing to the rude and untractable nature of the materials,

‡ M. Paris, 994: "Tegulas—integras, et lapides quos invenit aptus [aptos] ad ædificia "seponens," &c.

§ M. Paris, 995: "Antiquos tabulatus lapideos, cum tegulis et columnis."

‖ M. Paris, 1001: "Ex lapidibus et tegulis veteris civitatis Verolamii."

¶ P. 45.

* M. Paris, 1002: "Paulus—totam ecclesiam Sancti Albani, cum multis aliis ædificiis, "opere construxit lateritio."

"which

" which are *wholly* of the Roman *tile* †;" when Paris actually declares the materials of Paul to have been *brick* as well as tile, and when the whole is therefore denominated by Paris a pile of *brick-work*. " The " slabs of stone" and the " pillars," which equally with the tiles and bricks were collected from the ruins of Verulam, were *not* used in the construction; *because* they had been actually sold before, as articles much more saleable than the others, by Leofric the tenth abbot ‡. Even in those parts west of the screen, which appear plainly to have been the construction of Paul, Mr. Newcome errs as egregiously as before; affirming " the beautiful part," which is peculiarly Paul's, because it bears Lanfranc's head upon it, to have been built " of stone" as " entirely," as the opposed arches on the north are " of the Roman " tile §." But, as the " stone" of Paul appears plainly to have been mere brick, this substitution of real stone for it cannot be allowed to Mr. Newcome. The *building* materials, in truth, are uniformly the same through the two grand parts of the church; *not* desultorily, tile here and stone there, or stone and tile united at times, as Mr. Newcome varyingly fancies; *not* " entirely Roman *brick*," fetched by the " abbots from the old city," as Dr. Stukeley imagines, in " the *ancient* " part of the monastic church and the STEEPLE ‖;" but *brick*, fetched " from the old city," for the *Norman* only, for parts *west* of the screen, not for the STEEPLE, therefore, not for any parts *east* of the screen at all, and *tile* used in all " the *ancient*" or Ante-Norman " parts." That the " ancient" were British, is plain from there being no Saxon; and that those were formed of tile alone, which had been burned by the Romans cotemporary with the erection, however strange it certainly seems to have a church of tiles, is equally plain from the composition of the western front, which, at the demolition of it, about the year 1200, is attested by Paris to have been " compacted of indissoluble cement and " *ancient tiles* ¶." We thus form a difference of materials very striking

† P. 45.

‡ M. Paris, 995: " Antiquos tabulatus lapideos."

§ P. 94.

‖ Stukeley's Itin. Cur. 117.

¶ M. Paris, 1047: " Murum frontis ecclesiæ nostræ, veteribus tegulis et cæmento in- " dissolubili compactum."

in itself for the parts, old or new, *not* what Mr. Newcome has suggested, all *stones* in the new and all *tiles* in the old; but all *tiles* in the old, all *bricks* in the new, and no *stones* (except on the shields or heads) in either new or old. Hence does the whole church, in full conformity with its history, upon chipping away its seeming face of stone, to this day, shew us the redness of brick beneath; of brick, either as in its proper dimensions of brick, or as reduced into the tenuity of tile. We thus sweep away at once with the gigantic hand of history, all that frivolity of reasoning from a falsity of allegation, which Mr. Newcome has repeatedly produced, to account for the rudeness and the elegance of different parts in the same church! And we can now say with a triumphant inversion of his meaning, "as to the very rude part of the "building, viz. the four piers and arches that support the TOWER, the "whole of the choir, THE TWO TRANSEPTS, and the five arches above "mentioned," on the north; "the rudeness" *does* argue something, even much, even very much, "for its" and their "antiquity," and for "its being a mark of originality" severally to all *. The rudeness of the plain parts, and the elegance of the beautiful, serve respectively to prove, in union with history, the posterior and the prior parts of the whole †.

At last then have we found a British church, not hid behind even the thin veil of history, but coming forward to our very senses; that has a

* P. 94.

† With this notice of tiles and bricks at Verulam, all confessedly "made on the spot" by the Romans (p. 27), Mr. Newcome is contradictory enough to say, in p. 283, that "tiles and bricks of clay, and burnt, were *invented* about 1440, and *not earlier*." He even adds, in p. 481, that the house at Gorham, close to the walls of Verulam, which in the text is said to have been "perhaps built when abbot Robert first granted these lands to his kins-"man from Gorham in Normandy;" in a note shews "on demolishing the same a few "years ago,—the walls had been built in chest-work, *long* before the *invention* of *brick* or "*regular building in stone*." Yet, in p. 502, we find that this *antediluvian* house is really later than the coming of the "kinsman from Gorham in Normandy," as "the foundations "of *the first original house*, here built and inhabited by *Robert de Gorham*, are discernible "in the present park, *situate eastward* of the *new mansion*." But, in p. 502, 481, we even find from tradition, and an inscription united, that this *antediluvian* house was actually finished so late as the *tenth* of *Elizabeth*.

CROSS

CROSS reaching out its arms north and south, with a BELL-TOWER on the four arches over the very intersection of the cross. Nor is this tower and this cross merely what had been built, like St. Saviour's at Canterbury, perhaps, *a little* before the departure of the Romans out of Britain; but what the Romans had built at Verulam *a hundred and forty years* before, in their first transports of zeal for Christianity at the end of a violent persecution, and in their first effusions of triumph over the last, the most violent of all which their religion had ever endured before. We have indeed been long and laboriously employed in digging down to this mine; yet the rich vein of ore, which we have found at the bottom of our shaft, has amply repaid us for all our trouble ‡.

Ramsay Abbey. To these accounts of our ancient churches, however long the accounts are, I cannot but add another, very short indeed, yet equally unnoticed hitherto, and strikingly conclusive in itself. When the church of Ramsey abbey was built, so early as 969, and "the work," says the historian, "rises every day higher; TWO TOWERS appeared above the

‡ Mr. Newcome, p. 94, conjectures, from the Saracen captives in the crusades being once given by the king of Portugal "to serve the builders in the repairs of the churches;" that "hence" the Gothic "may have been called the *Saracenic* architecture," when it was so called first on a mere guess, by Sir Christopher Wren. See the *Parentalia*. On this guess, however, so many of our best critics, Lowth, Warburton, &c. have grounded the fantastical humour of denominating the Gothic style the Saracenic; that Mr. Newcome goes to search for the origin in the clouds, and very near the fountain of the Nile, to suppose the Nile derived from the moon. "The crusades," cries Mr. Warton, "—dictated the *pointed* "arch." (Observations on Spenser, ii. 188.) So have said a hundred others. But they have all said so from guess at first, and against fact at last. This I have shewn decisively, in the present work. Yet it is equally shewn by another writer, from an actual survey of Saracenic buildings. "In the buildings I have had opportunities of examining in *Spain* and "in *Sicily*," says a judicious and observant traveller over both countries, "*I have never been* "*able to discover any thing like* an original design, from which *the Gothic ornaments* might "be *supposed* to be copied. The arches used in our old cathedrals, are *pointed*; those of "the *Saracens* are *almost semicircular*, whenever they are not turned *in the form a horse-* "*shoe*." (Swinburne in Spain, ii. 262.) Such, therefore, are the airy conjectures with which scholars, like schoolboys with their paper kites, enlightened perhaps by a lantern at their tail, delight to amuse their hours of leisure, engage their eyes with a transitory lustre, and attract the gaze of the public to it!

"very

" very summit of the roof, the *lesser* of which was in the front of the " minster to the west, and presented a fine object from afar to the en- " terers into the aile, but the *greater* stood IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FOUR " DIVISIONS OF THE CHURCH, upon four columns that were preserved " from warping with the weight, by arches reaching from the one to " the other." This was " an edifice sufficiently respectable," as the writer goes on with all a *Norman*'s ambition for novelty and greatness in structures; " upon that style of building which was used in *those* " *days of old antiquity* *." Here then we have a *Saxon* church exhibited to our view by the pencil, in all the pomp and pride of a modern cathedral; with a small tower at the western end of the front of the whole, and a large tower upon the intersection of the cross aile, as the centre of the whole, both apparently bell-towers, and both actually furnished with bells, as king Edgar, the historian subjoins, " when the " first foundations of this minster were laid," among other presents gave it " *two* bells, purchased at the expense of twenty pounds †."

But before I close the section, let me make one remark concerning *some* of these bell-towers, that is necessary to complete the whole of what I have said. " The towers in *Saxon* cathedrals," cries the ingenious Mr. Warton, and ought in propriety to have said the *Norman*, as from *Norman* his proofs are all taken, " were not *always* " intended for bells. They were [*sometimes*] calculated to produce the " effect of the louver, or open lantern, in the inside; and, on this " account, were *originally* continued open almost to the covering. It " is generally supposed, that the tower of Winchester cathedral," which was not Saxon but Norman, as built about the year 1090, yet

* Gale, i. 339: " Opus indies altius consurgit. Duæ quoque turres ipsis tectorum cul- " minibus eminebant, quarum minor versus occidentem in fronte basilicæ pulchrum intran- " tibus insulam à longè spectaculum præbebat, major verò in quadrifidæ structuræ medio " columnas quatuor, porrectis de aliâ ad aliam arcubus sibi invicem connexas, ne laxè " defluerent, deprimebat. Juxta eam quâ vetus illa antiquitas utebatur ædificandi formam, " spectabile satis ædificium."

† Gale, i. 402: " Cum igitur prima [primis] hujus basilicæ fundamenta [fundamentis] " illustris rex Ædgarus—dedit—duas campanas xx^ti librarum pretio comparatas."

" which is remarkably thick and short, was left as the foundation for a " projected spire; but this idea never entered into the plan of the " architect. Nearly the whole inside of this tower was formerly seen " from below; and, for that reason, its side arches or windows, of the " first story at least, *are artificially wrought and ornamented*. With " this sole effect in view, the builder saw no necessity to carry it higher. " An instance of this visibly subsists at present, in the inside of the " neighbouring *Saxon* church of *Saint Cross*, built about the same " time," equally built not by the Saxons, but by the Normans, even about the year 1132. " The same effect was *at* first designed *at* Salis- " bury" cathedral, built still later by the Normans, even about 1250; " where, for the same purpose solely, was a short tower, the end of " which is easily discerned by critical observers; being but little higher " than the roof of the church, and of less refined workmanship than that " additional part, on which the present spire is constructed. Many " other examples might be pointed out. *This gave the idea*, for *the* " *beautiful lanterns* at Peterborough and Ely*." These remarks, as corrected, are critically curious in themselves, and seem to be historically just, being founded upon actual observation. The concluding assertion, particularly, shews us the source and origin of lanterns at our cathedrals. Yet it wants authentication. The ornamental architecture at some of these towers within, even nearly up to the roof, shews they were designed to be viewed so high from below. But still where is the proof, for this transition of the open tower into a lantern? I have discovered, I think, what is a decisive proof of this transition, what had suggested it to me before I observed it in Mr. Warton. Walter Skirlaw, made bishop of Durham in 1388, but born in Yorkshire, " at " the minster of York," says the historian of Durham, " constructed a " great part of that *campanile*, which is *vulgarly denominated the lan-* " *tern*†." The *original* name for one of these lanterns or louvers, therefore, was actually a *campanile*. Thus also the tower that fell down

* Warton on Spenser, ii. 195.

† Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 775: " Magnam partem campanilis, vulgo lanterii, mini- " sterii Eboracensis construxit;" and Godwin, 751.

at Ely in 1322, appears to have had no bells, yet is expressly styled a *campanile* by the historian of Ely; and the very dome crowned with a lantern, that was erected in the room of it, is equally styled a *campanile*, by him *. The name concurs with the circumstances, to ascertain the origin of our lanterns beyond a doubt. From an open cylinder, all pervious to the eye below, as all lighted up with windows above, and therefore shewing an ornamental architecture through all the ascent nearly up to the roof; the tower that was *not* destined for bells, that was yet denominated a bell-tower from its aspect, was changed into a tower all windowed round, completely luminous within, and thoroughly transparent without, a rich addition to the beauty of some cathedrals, a happy effusion of some architectural genius †. But I can come still closer to the lantern. We have steeples in Normandy that are *bell-towers and louvers at once*. "There are very few towers to the churches in this pro-"vince," says a late traveller there, who was particularly curious about church-architecture, "the fashion running almost every where into "spires or steeples," or (as he should have said) into spire-steeples; "*some* of which are *so contrived* with *open-work*, as *to let in light enough* "*to see the bells move* ‡." Yet was the lantern formed so late as Mr. Warton's proofs and mine seem to fix it? Certainly not. Two churches in Normandy prove it was not. The abbey-church of St. Stephen, at Caen, was begun in 1064, and dedicated in 1077, yet has a lantern, with a spire in the centre above; as the cathedral of Rouen, begun about 990, and dedicated in 1063, has the transept of the cross, forming a "beautiful lantern," with a lofty spire upon it. So nearly coæval were lanterns, with bells, with towers, and with spires, among us!

* Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 643, 644: "Ecce subitò et repente ruit campanile super "chorum," but the sacrist set to work "novum campanile—constructurus," and so erected the lantern, "illa artificiosa structura ligneâ novi campanilis."

† That at Ely is accordingly described by the Ely historian, as a structure "summo ac "mirabili mentis ingenio imaginata." (Wharton, i. 644.)

‡ Ducarel, 97.

SECTION III.

S. Germans, a British Church, partially rebuilt in 614, when it became a Cathedral.

S. Germans a British Church.

In this manner was a church erected at St. German's, and dedicated to the memory of him who had, in this as well as in other parts of the island, laid himself out in painful and honourable exertions for the cause of sacred truth, against the presumptuous absurdity of Pelagianism. Germanus had thus become another Hercules in attacking another Hydra, had been as successful as Hercules in quelling it, and then, like Hercules, been deified after his death by the too lively gratitude of his admirers. Yet he had a still nearer claim to the admiration and the gratitude of the Cornish sovereign; from the zeal which the latter had seen or felt himself probably, as it lightened in the looks or on the lips of the apostolical preacher; and from the general goodness, general devoutness, which the king had contemplated assuredly with awful veneration, as it played in a lambent flame of glory around the person of this apostolical man, during the whole of his residence with him. Both contributed to fix his name upon that church and parish, which he in all probability induced the king to build and to form. Nor let such a scrupulosity of caution, as is ever stopping or starting in the safest course, because it is ignorant of the way, and finds itself moving in darkness; alarm us with apprehensions of turning aside into a ditch, or falling headlong into a pit, when we refer the present appellation of the parish and church, to so very early a date. Facts shall be our guide. We have another church of Britain, bearing the name of another saint *still earlier*. When Christianity came forward in the persons of Augustine and his associates, to reclaim the Saxons from paganism and savageness; "there was near the "very city of Canterbury," let me repeat from Bede, "upon the "eastern side of it, a church, *built in those former times*, in which *the* "*Romans yet inhabited Britain*; and THEN dedicated TO THE HONOUR "OF SAINT MARTIN*." But we can mount with Saint Martin still higher in time. Nynian, "that most reverend bishop and that most

* Bede Hist. i. 26: "Erat autem propè ipsam civitatem, ad orientem, ecclesia in "honorem Sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent."

"holy

"holy man, of the nation of the Britons," of whom I have spoken so largely just before, but "who was regularly educated at Rome in the "faith and mysteries of truth; had his episcopal see" at Whitern, in Galloway, as I have already shewn, "distinguished by A CHURCH DE-"NOMINATED FROM SAINT MARTIN THE BISHOP," whom he had visited at his see of Tours, in France, about the year 394*, and who died a few years afterward, even in the year 401†. We thus behold another bishop of *Gaule* about *fifty years before Germanus*, revered in his life, sainted at his death, and, from private or public veneration in the builders, denominating almost instantly no less than two of our churches in Britain. Nor is this all the proof that we can adduce. A whole century prior to all, even as early as about 312, when the last persecution ceased; we see the Britons in general "erecting minsters to their holy "martyrs," as I have already remarked, and those of Verulam in particular erecting one "in honour of their blessed martyr St. Alban‡."

So named, our church must have been only a small one, as that of St. Martin remains at Canterbury to this day; and proportioned in size to the thin population of the parish. Even when it was pulled down and rebuilt, to make it the cathedral of Cornwall; it was not made large. It was still a parochial church, though it was also a cathedral one; a full evidence that it existed as parochial before it became cathedral. The rector still continued in his parsonage-house, on the western side of the church; while the bishop settled at a house which the king must have built for him, upon the wooded prominence of Cuddenbeak adjoining. "At this day," says Leland, concerning the see of St. German's, "the bishop of Exceter hathe a place cauled Cudden Beke, "joyning hard upon the sowth est side of the same towne§." But "at

* Bede, iii. 4: "Nynia episcopo reverentissimo, et sanctissimo viro, de natione Bri-"tonum, qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus; cujus sedem epis-"copalem, Sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesiâ insignem," &c. See also the note.—I have used pretty nearly the whole of the fact here, in ii. 2, before, for another purpose.

† Usher, 434.

‡ Gildas, viii.: "Basilicas sanctorum martyrum;" Bede, i. 7, "Ecclesia—ejus mar-"tyrio condigna;" and M. Paris, 984, "In honorem beati martyris constructam."

§ Leland's Itin. vii. 122.

"the

The Bishop's Palace at Cuddenbeake.

"the towne's end," as Carew speaks; "Cuddenbeak, an ancient house "of the bishop's, from a well-advanced promontory—taketh a pleasant "prospect of the river*." On that fine position, about a quarter of a mile to the south-east of the church, tradition fixes the episcopal house; and there, to this day, remain under all the demolitions, that even the memory of the last generation reported, and the tongue of the present repeats, some buildings which speak their own antiquity, which shew by their closed arches they are only a part of what was once there, and are believed by all to be certainly episcopal, now fitted up into a farm-house. The present kitchen of this was the hall of that, being within memory all open up to the very roof, and having no chambers over it as it has now. Upon one side of this is an arched doorway, leading into what is now the dairy, but was then (I believe) the buttery; as upon another side is a second and taller arch for a doorway, filled up with stone, but once opening (I suppose) into the kitchen, now demolished. Thence the bishop walked with his chaplain to the church, and entered it by a door reserved entirely for himself; while the rector (I suppose from the same principle) entered it by another door, the westerly one of the porch, as the nearest to his house; and the parishioners entered by a third, even the southerly door of the porch. This distribution of doors is very remarkable. I have observed it practised at another of our superior churches, though not half so ancient as St. German's, the collegiate church of Manchester, in the entrances into the chapter-house, and in the accesses into the quire. I therefore believe it to have been practised in all, and to be still observable in all to a critical eye on examination. It shews in a very lively manner that grand system of subordination among us, which is so necessary to the maintenance of order in a society of angels themselves, which is a thousand times more necessary in one of fallen vitiated beings like men, and which our wise forefathers rigorously kept up in justice to morality, in justice to themselves. The westerly door of the porch was undoubtedly the principal entrance into the parochial church; the cathedral, with its door, being not yet built. That the porch was prior to the cathedral, may be

* Carew, 109.

decisively

decisively shewn. There is a plain line of separation at this day between it and the south aile, running along the wall at the union of both without, and forming a direct perpendicular there. This proves them to have been built at different times, and the south aile to have been annexed to the porch, as well as to the southern tower: the porch is coæval with the tower, along which it ranges, and combined with it originally to make the western end of the parochial church, as it afterwards made of the cathedral.

The body of the Church rebuilt when it became a Cathedral, 614.

In this state of the church the body of it was taken down and rebuilt, rebuilt with a height not so lofty, shrinking down in its roof from the water-table of its predecessor, but receiving all the symbols and signatures of a cathedral, the cenotaph, the door, or the throne, for the bishop, and the stall for his chaplain. The chancel was not ascended by steps from the nave, as it is in our present cathedrals generally, but goes on in the same level with the nave, as it went in the parochial church probably, and in the Roman church of Canterbury certainly; having only one step of ascent, so slight as to be mis-named a step, and just serving barely to discriminate the chancel from the nave.

Athelstan founds the Priory, 936.

Athelstan then came; left the parochial, the cathedral church just as he found it, still cathedral, still parochial; and left also a part of the rectory-house to stand, but turned it into offices for his new house. Multiplying the one rector into eight, a prior and seven subordinate clergymen, he raised his house upon a larger scale, proportioned to the larger number of incumbents; he also made a grand addition to the church, suited to the grandeur of the new parsonage-house, and appropriated to the use of the new family there; a new church uniting with the old, modelled in conformity to it, thus combining the old and the new by a happy regularity of plan into one complete whole. By this act he gave the solitary bishop and his chaplain in some measure the dignity of a chapter; certainly a number of his clergy congregated around him, and confederated with him in the liturgic ministeries of the cathedral. But he left the bishop, his chaplain, and the parishioners, to the use of their old church in their old manner; only constructing another cenotaph in the

the southern wall of his chancel, just as he saw one in the body of the British church, to mark as honourably a place of sepulture for the new bishops as had been previously marked for the old; and at last came "the Norman ambition" of building, to do what reflects high honour upon it, to superadd the grand portal with the northern tower to all.

Summary. Thus do we mount up at last to the very sources of the several streams, to the very periods of constructing the several parts of this church, and to the very epocha of its first commencement. The southern tower, once octangular, and so causing the northern, in a judicious accommodation of style, to be made as it still is, octangular too, remains a striking memorial in its water-table of a church previous to the cathedral, but loftier than it in the roof: the porch, too, being evidently built together with the southern tower, being visibly incorporated into it at the very moment of building, remains equally a striking memorial of a previous church, as large in the breadth, and therefore probably as extensive in the length, as the cathedral. The porch and the southern tower are thus two very extraordinary relics of antiquity, each illustrating and confirming the other; two monuments of the Romans just before their departure, or of the Roman Britons just after it. The cathedral annexed to them is not so old, but still a monument very extraordinary too, being as old probably as the year 614, certainly as old as the first erection of an episcopal see in Cornwall; a natural, a significant evidence in itself, in the smallness, in the lowness of the very cathedral of Cornwall, to how humble a state the Britons of Cornwall, and of all the kingdom, were reduced at the time of building it. It thus exhibits also such ancient simple memorials of British episcopacy within it; a throne, only an ornamented niche in the wall; a chaplain's stall, only another niche; an arched doorway, for the peculiar entrance of the bishop; and an arched tomb, to mark the place of his peculiar sepulture. The throne, particularly, is such a memorial as is not to be paralleled in the whole island, I apprehend; yet is so little known, even within its own region of Cornwall, that the very antiquaries of the region know nothing of it; that Willis, that Borlase were as ignorant of it as the merest peasants of our villages; and that I was all unapprized

apprized of its existence for twelve or fourteen years of my residence in the county. The nave, too, the chancel, and the north aile, appear to be the very fabrication of Athelstan, coæval with the new church at Bodmin, or the new church at Padstow, and coæval equally with those colleges of clergy which he established at all the three places. Then the northern tower and the fine portal close the sum of successive additions to the original building; all bearing, with the original, the name of Germanus; all uniting thus to keep up the memory of this saint, who had been once resident in the parish, who had exerted great zeal of spirit, and exhibited great holiness of life within it, had even occasioned probably that parish to be first formed, and that church to be first built, upon their present positions. Thus Romans, or Roman Britons; the Cornish dispossessed of East-Devonshire, and confined to the west of the Exe; the Saxons, under their victorious conqueror of West-Devonshire, with Cornwall afterwards; and the Normans, under another conqueror, with a still higher fondness for enlarging churches, with indeed the collected refinements of the continent, have all combined their efforts together to produce the present church of Saint German's.

Tantæ *molis* erat Romanam condere gentem!

SECTION IV.

Early Bishops of Cornwall.

Leland's account of S. Germans and its Bishops.

THERE "is a towne cawled S. Germayns," Leland observes in a passage that I must bring before my reader a second time, "wherin is "now a priori [church] of blake chanons, and a paroche chirche yn "the body of the same. Beside the hye altare of the same priory "[church], on the ryght hand, ys a tumbe yn the walle with an ymage "of a bishop, and over the tumbe a xi. bishops paynted, with their "names and verses, as token of so many bishops biried theere, or that "ther had beene so many bishoppes of Cornewalle, that had theyr secte

" [seate] theer *." This memorable circumstance in the private history of our church, which has enabled us, in concurrence with other circumstances, to ascertain the respective ages of the first and second parts of the whole, would have been totally lost to history if Leland's eye had not noticed, and Leland's pen had not recorded it. The integrity of historical truth depends upon such a number of precarious contingencies in a world like our own, as seems to make another history of human events, one that cannot be affected by the incidents of human life, one that is drawn from the full annals of every individual of our species, absolutely necessary to the complete satisfaction of our minds. The historian of earth will thus be engaged in writing history within the regions of heaven; in consulting those records of private plans, and private actions, which present the soul with the body of public events, and in writing particular portions of history from them. Thus only can man ever come, even in heaven, to gain that perfect knowledge of the human annals to which the inclination of his mind strongly leads him, in which the vigorousness of his spirit may be usefully employed, and by which the religiousness of his affections may be happily indulged.

Leland, however, notices " a tumbe yn the walle, with an ymage of " a bishop." This image appears plainly to have been placed upon the tomb itself. There was " a tumbe,—with an ymage of a bishop" upon it; an image of wood or stone, lying recumbent upon the tomb. And this bishop was as plainly Conan, the first who was fixed in the see by the English crown, the first who could be buried in the English chancel of the church, the first who could have his image upon the English cenotaph within it †.

* Leland's Itin. vii. 122. I have noticed the passage also in ii. 4, preceding.

† Leland's Itin. viii. 8. At Durham cathedral these bishops are buried, " in choro, " Skirlaw ad boream *sub arcu*, Hatfeld ad austrum *sub arcu*;" ibid. 21, " S. Wilfridi re- " liquiæ *sub arcu* prope *mag. altare* sepultæ, *nuper sublatæ*;" iii. 94, for Salisbury cathedral, " ther is also a sepulchre, *with an image* of 4 fote in lenght *of a bishop*;" ibid. 124, for Wells cathedral, " quatuor tumuli et *imagines episcoporum* Wellen. quæ referunt *mag-* " *nam vetustatem*;—quatuor tumuli *episcoporum* Wellensium, quorum tres *imagines* habent " [tres habent imagines] *antiquitatem referentes*."

Yet

Yet "*over* the tumbe," adds Leland, by the distinguishing variation of his language confirming what I have here derived from his language preceding, and shewing the "ymage" to be not *over* but *upon* the tomb; are "a xi. bishops," not in images, but "paynted †." These were therefore posterior in time to the other, as the successors of Conan in the see; all appointed, like him, by the English crown, and all, like him, buried in the ground adjoining. They had their persons represented in paintings on the wall over the tomb, but under the arch that protected the tomb; they were even "paynted, with their names" to each, the personal appellation being annexed, in order to appropriate the painting ‡: they had even "verses" subjoined, in order to state the character, and to date the life of each. All shews the painting was made, the name prefixed, and the verse subjoined at the very sepulture of each.

Had Leland, therefore, extended his accuracy of notation a little farther, gone on to copy what he has thus described, and given us the names with the verses in order as they stood, we should have been indulged with a ray of light, of which we must now lament the privation for ever: but he who was so accurate as to notice, would certainly have been accurate enough to describe, *if he could have read.* The antiquity of the verses and names must have rendered them illegible in his time; it had not indeed obliterated them entirely, it had only effaced them partially. The figures of the eleven bishops remained upon the wall, still visible to the eye in the outline, yet just fading away into nonentity: the place of the name perhaps was attested only by the traces of a gilded scroll over head, while the verse existed merely in some half-perished letters at the foot, running in a semblance of parallel lines,

† In Reculver church also "is the figure of a bishop, *paynted* under *an arch.*" (Itin. vii. 136.) And at Glastonbury church, "trium tantùm horum abbatum nomina rerum præteri-"tarum recordatrix manifestat *pictura*,—nomina illorum et dignitates in majori ecclesiâ, "prodente secus altare *picturâ*, sunt in propatulo." Gale, i. 307, 308, Malmesbury.

‡ So, of three tombs bearing images of bishops at Wells cathedral, "primus tumulus "sic inscriptus est BYRWOLDVS" (Itin. iii. 124), made bishop about A. D. 1000 (Godwin, 365).

and shewing a shadow of evanescent poetry. Nor could any eye, I suppose, however acute in itself, however exercised in antiquarian acuteness, have known the verses, the names, and the paintings, to be what they were, if tradition had not come in to assist the sight, to lend its useful microscope to the eye, and to make the antiquary behold what time had been so long erasing; yet time had been so far successful in its operations, that even an antiquary's eye, so sharp, so exercised, could catch only the general fact, could learn only the existence of verses and names, but could not pretend to copy any one of either; when no less than *eleven* figures were painted upon the wall, with names prefixed, and verses subjoined to each, within the narrow space of the arch above the tomb: the figures must have been small, the names in short scrolls, and the verses in abbreviated inscriptions; all must have rendered the writing less transcribable in a little time, and wholly illegible, as the names were generally unknown before Leland made his visit to the church.

In this uncertainty as to the true reading of the inscriptions, and in that inability of tradition to tell more than generals concerning any of them, Leland notes concerning the paintings, the names, and the verses, that they were put there "as token of so many bishops biried theere, "*or* that ther had beene so many bishoppes of Cornwalle, that had "theyr secte [seate] theer." Tradition varied in the lips of its relators, as the diamond varies in the hand of its shewer; yet, as the diamond has a real lustre, however varying, so tradition has a real substantiality of truth, amidst all its changes in circumstance. But the variation in this case is actually of no moment at all; the same rays play only from different points; nor is there any real difference whether these verses, names, and paintings were put over the tomb, as a signature that so many bishops of Cornwall had been buried at this place, or as an evidence that so many had been seated at this church. The conclusion is exactly the same either way, and the convergence of the two lines in one centre shews they issued from the same circumference; the bishops that were buried here must have been the prelates that were here seated before, and the prelates seated here must have been the same as were here

here buried. The position of the paintings and names in *the church*, and over *the tomb*, proves the persons so specified and so delineated, to have been prelates *seated* here, and here *buried*. Accordingly we find, in fact, when the names of prelates merely seated at the church were meant to be recited, they are recited, not over a tomb, but in the chapter-house; as Leland himself informs us concerning Sherborne, equally with our St. German's, a cathedral to the æra of the Conquest, that "the chapitre house is ancient, and *yn the volte of it* be *payntid* "*the images of bisshops* that *had their sete at Shirburn* *."

Those at St. German's appear to have been many in number, and, could Leland have copied the verses or names, would have appeared with all their appellations, dates, or panegyrics before my reader. Malmesbury, indeed, more than six hundred years ago, could nowhere find the names of Athelstan's successors in the Cornish episcopate; as "of the Cornish pontiffs" he "did not know, and could not produce, "a regular list †." But even a Malmesbury could not be expected to ransack every private or local cell of intelligence; he could not be expected, particularly to visit the distant church of St. German's, when travelling was little practised within our own country; to read there for information any inscriptions that must have been perfectly legible at the time, and to insert (as he certainly would have inserted, if he had known) the substance of these as a competent, because a cotemporary authority, for each of the specified bishops of Cornwall.

He did not know, and Leland could not read, the inscription concerning each; yet others, who pretend not to have read, but affect to guess at what Leland could not read, presume to execute what he could not perform, and pretend to tell the names which he could not deci-

* Itin. ii. 78.

† Malmesbury, f. 146: "Cornubiensium sanè pontificum successorum ordinem nec scio; "nec appono." Nor could Leland have told us, as we have seen already, even if he had executed the work that he once designed. Concerning Anthony Bec, bishop of Durham, he says, "fusius in opere, cui titulus de pontificibus Britannicis, dicemus; nam illorum "regestas magnâ curâ exquisivi, et majori *propediem* in ordinem redigam." (Itin. ix. 35.)

pher:

pher: thus the nave of St. German's church exhibits in a modern writing upon the *western* wall the very names which the writer supposed to have been originally near the *eastern*. Dr. Borlase also repeats them, not upon the testimony of the wall, which then perhaps had not learnt to *speak* like the wall in Shakespeare; not even upon the evidence of Mr. Willis, from whom (I believe) the wall was taught by some antiquarian curate to rehearse the names, and into whose work the Doctor seems hardly to have ever looked*; but upon the authority of that Cresssy, whom Mr. Willis equally adduced for his witness, and of that Heylyn, who with Cressy knew just as little upon the point as the very allegers themselves. Heylyn was one of those divines whose learning, worth, and spirit, do so much honour to the patronage of the first Charles; who actually published his list of bishops at a period peculiarly hostile to the whole order, as well as to all erudition, that mournful year of the commencing reign of fanaticism, 1641. Cressy was a divine of the same period and patronage, whose weaker mind could not bear the triumph of presbyterian barbarism, but bent before the pressure of expanding passion; who therefore threw himself with disgust into the arms of popery; was afterwards employed in defending with dignity the cause to which he had thus deserted with disgrace, and particularly published his Church History with that view in 1668. Upon this coupled but slender pillar, nodding every moment to its fall, and ready to sink at once under the weight of a fly lighting upon it, Dr. Borlase repeats the names thus: "Athelstan, Conan, Ruydocke, Aldred, Britwin, "Athelstan II. Wolf, Woron, Wolocke, Stidio, Aldred II. and Bur-"wold†." Heylyn gives them in this form: "1. S. Patroc, he lived "circa an. 850, 2. Athelstan, 3. Conanus, 4. Ruidocus, 5. Aldredus, "6. Britwinus, 7. Athelstan II. 8. Wolfi, 9. Woronus, 10. Wolocus, "11. Stidio, 12. Aldredus, 13. Burwoldus (or Brithwoldus), the last "bishop of Cornwall‡." Cressy exhibits only a part of the list, saying, "the first bishop was Athelstan, and after him Conan, Ruydoc, "Aldred, and Brithwin§." Cressy has thus shortened the list in

* He cites it only once, in p. 385.
† Borlase, 378, 379.
‡ Heylyn, 71, 72. Wright.
§ Cressy, 832.

Heylyn,

Heylyn, by omitting eight of the names out of thirteen, as if he had a violent suspicion of their spuriousness; but Dr. Borlase, on the contrary, as having no suspicion, has lengthened the brevity of Cressy into all the amplitude of Heylyn again. He has then adhered to Cressy in preference to Heylyn, and omitted one name that Heylyn has recited; even *his* credulity declining to adopt the monstrous fiction, and therefore *his* pen dropping in silence from the head of the list "S. Patroc," of the year "850." Thus Petrock, who was only a hermit in a vale with three others, about 518-538, is put down for a prelate of Cornwall, and the first prelate of it, more than three centuries afterwards *. Athelstan also is named as the second prelate, though he lived *sixty* years later than the æra *here assigned* for Petrock, and almost four centuries later than the *actual* æra of Petrock. But this Athelstan is only named at all, because he was nominated by the English monarch to the see of Cornwall in 910, when Asser should have been equally named before upon the same principle. Conan we know to have been actually placed in the see during the December of 936; he was succeeded either mediately or immediately, but certainly in the course of *thirty* years, by one Athelstan, the same probably with Athelstan II. in the list, as a charter of 966 is subscribed thus: "I, Athelstan, bishop of Corn-"wall, have given my counsel to this †;" and Burwold we shall have ample occasion to notice hereafter, as bishop of Cornwall in the reign of the Confessor. Thus does the list appear to have been merely *copied* by Cressy in his part, and to have been actually *formed* in the whole by Heylyn, or by Heylyn's authors; drawn up first from some casual intimations of history concerning the names of the first or of the second Athelstan, of Conan, or of Burwold; then enlarged by him from some

* Hals, 17, concerning his "Cornish bishops or druids" seated at Bodmin: "although "the list or catalogue of their names be lost," judiciously observed! "except St. Pedyr," who was neither druid nor bishop, but "who lived about the 5th century, as tradition "says," very truly, "though, *as Harpsfield and Campian says*, anno Dom. 850, *and* "*therefore is by them placed as the first bishop among the Cornish*," when he was no bishop at all. One frequently wants a silly writer to introduce one into the company of writers as silly as himself, and so to unfold the origin of notions as silly as they are popular.

† Ingulphus, 502: "Ego Athelstanus, episcopus Cornubiensis, consilium dedi."

traditionary list that was circulated about St. German's at the time perhaps, that was probably false in its original shape, had been certainly falsified by the rash hand of forgery afterwards, and betrays its forgery by its folly at present, in transforming a hermit into a bishop, so turning the date 518 into 850.

But in an author of much higher reputation, and much greater accuracy within the province of ecclesiastical antiquities than ever Dr. Borlase was, we find the list repeated, and even authorities pleaded to confirm it. "Conanus," cries Godwin in Richardson's own edition of his work, as he cites the names, leaving out very wisely both the Petrock of Heylyn, and the first Athelstan of the Doctor, "Ruydocus, Aldredus;" when a note subjoins concerning the last, "vixit A. 793, *Ingul.*" This reference must naturally startle my reader in his course of conviction, and make him shrink back from my leading hand; yet let him neither shrink nor startle. Ingulphus, indeed, *does* mention an Aldred a bishop in the year 793, a charter of Offa's in that year being signed by such a prelate; but, by some astonishing deception of the author's eyes, not of Cornwall, not of West-Saxony, but of Mercia, of Oxfordshire, of *Dorchester**. The very name of Offa fixes the charter to be Mercian, and the very date of the year proves the subscribing bishop to be no successor to Conan; the latter being bishop in 936, and the former, with one prelate interposed, living in—793, almost a whole century and a half *before* the man whom at such a distance he *followed*. Then came "Athelstan the II[d]." as the author proceeds with the list, "who lived "in 966," as I have already shewn; this author, however, not attempting to shew, but contrarily remarking in a note, that "he is *not* "specified in a very ancient MS. among the archives of the church of "Exeter†." So much greater uncertainty is there in this whole list, and so much stronger are the contradictions in parts of it! But chronology is again violated, though not so grossly as before, by fixing a

* Richardson, 396, and Ingulphus, 486: "Ego Aldredus episcopus Dorcasistrens. sub-"notavi."

† Richardson, 396: "In MS. per-antiquo inter archivos ecclesiæ Exoniensis non nume-"ratur. *Le Neve.*"

prelate at the year 966, as a successor to Aldred of 793, to Ruydock of ——, and to Conan of 936. "Wolfi," adds the continuator of the catalogue, "Woronus, Wolocus," &c.; of whom he notes, that Wolfi "claruit 1051. *Ingulf.*" But Ingulphus is referred to in the very same blindness of temerity as before, and only gives the signature under that year of "Wulfinus bishop of *Dorchester**;" and Wolock is confessed to be "also omitted in the MS. commended above†." So completely have all attempts to authenticate this catalogue been baffled by the very sturdiness of truth! so clearly have the very attempts served to fix the stigma of spuriousness more deeply upon it!

The inability of Leland to read and to transcribe the names over the tomb has produced all this confusion; curiosity could not be satisfied without recovering them; and tradition has combined with history, weakness has united with wantonness to satisfy it, to raise up the dead from their graves, or to make their phantoms appear as their representatives. All these prelates, however, pretend merely to be such alone as the English crown appointed to the see of Cornwall: this is plain from the name of Athelstan standing at the head of the list, and the name of Conan following immediately afterwards. Thus all the prelates that were nominated by the Cornish sovereigns themselves, are entirely omitted in this pretendedly full catalogue of the prelates of Cornwall. This was equally the case also in that catalogue of bishops upon the chancel-wall, which Leland could not read; these bishops could not be older than the wall itself, and their memorials must have been fixed upon it posterior to the erection of the chancel. Leland accordingly tells us in the passage above, that there "ys a tumbe yn the walle with "an image of a bishop, and over the tumbe a xi. bishops paynted with "their names and verses;" yet retells us in another work, that Conan was appointed bishop of St. German's by king Athelstan, but that "there were successively eleven bishops in the church of St. Ger-

* Ingulphus, 519: "Ego Wulfinus episcopus Dorcacestrensis ratificavi."

† Richardson, 396: "Et hic etiam omittitur in MS. suprà laudato."

"man's ‖." The two passages unite to shew, that Conan had eleven prelates in regular succession after him.

Earlier Bishops of Cornwall.

One of the prelates nominated by the kings of Cornwall, antecedently to Athelstan's appointment of Conan, we know by name, and we honour from character. "RUMON," we are informed by Malmesbury in his account of Tavistock abbey, "is there extolled as a saint, and lies buried "as a BISHOP, being decorated with a beautiful shrine; concerning "whom all want of written evidence confirms the opinion, that not "only in this but in many parts of England, you will find all knowledge "of events swept away by the violence of hostility, the names of saints "left naked, and any miracles that may aspire to our notice unre-"corded *." We have thus the positive attestation of Malmesbury, that Rumon was a bishop. Yet of what see was he? Of Crediton, or of St. German's? Certainly not of Crediton, and therefore as certainly of St. German's. All the bishops of Crediton are named in succession by Malmesbury himself, and there is no Rumon among them. "Here sat "these pontiffs in order," cries Malmesbury concerning Crediton, "Edulf, Edelgar, Elfwod, Sideman, Alfric, Elfwold, Ednod, who is "also Wine, Living,—Leofric †." But "of the Cornish pontiffs," he adds, "I do not know and cannot produce a regular list ‡." In fact he

Bishop Rumon.

‖ Leland's Coll. i. 75: "Erexit in ecclesiâ S. Germani quendam Conanum episcopum. "—Fuerunt successivè undecim episcopi in ecclesiâ S. Germani."

* Malmesbury, 146: "Rumonus Sanctus ibi prædicatur et jacet episcopus, pulchri-"tudine decoratus scrinii; ubi nulla scriptorum fides assistit opinioni, quòd non solùm ibi, "sed in multis locis Angliæ, invenies violentiâ hostilitatis abolitam omnem gestorum noti-"tiam, nuda sanctorum nomina, et siquæ modò prætendunt miracula sciri."

† Malmebury, 145: "Hic sederunt per ordinem pontifices isti, Edulfus, Edelgar, Elf-"wod, Sideman, Alfric, Elfwold, Ednod, qui et Wine, Livingus,—Lefricus." But to shew still more than I have already shewn the erroneousness, with which the common catalogues of our bishops are made, even when the makers have only the trouble of transcribing; let me here adduce a part of Heylyn's catalogue of the Crediton bishops, "Ædul-"phus I. *Putta*" interpolated; "*Ædulfus* II." equally interpolated, "Ethelgarus, *Al-"garus*" equally interpolated, "Alfwoldus I." "*Alfwolfus*" equally interpolated, &c.

‡ Malmesbury, 146; "Cornubiensium sane pontificum succiduum ordinem nec scio nec "appono."

produces

produces no list at all. Rumon, therefore, must fill up one of these empty niches in the temple of history, and form one name more in the nearly void catalogue of Cornish prelates. What niche indeed he is to fill, or in what part his name is to be enrolled among the prelates nominated by our Cornish sovereigns; must depend upon the period in which he lived, prior to Athelstan's reduction of Cornwall.

Nor is this so difficult to be ascertained as it seems to be; Malmesbury, when he mentioned the total want of notices concerning Rumon, vainly measuring the world's ignorance by his own; and Leland discovering what Malmesbury could not find, even after the lapse of four centuries between them. At that very Tavistock too, which Malmesbury appears, from the particularity of his descriptive touches concerning it, to have personally visited; and at which, therefore, he so pathetically laments "all want of written evidence" relative to Rumon; even there did Leland find a written account of Rumon*. So strangely negligent at times are the most accurate historians; and so singularly benumbed do they occasionally appear, by the freezing spirit of indolence! Every writer feels it too much in himself, and sees it too much in his own writings, not to recognise it with tenderness in others. There Leland met with a formal life of Rumon, and usefully made extracts from it. In these, Rumon appears to have been one of the many saints who came over from Ireland into Cornwall, in order to court that holy solitude, and to enjoy that heavenly contemplation in *our* vallies and upon *our* shores; to which they had solemnly devoted their lives, and from which they were apprehensive of being drawn away, by the solicitations of their friends near them. They thus passed the sea to preclude the

* Malmesbury, 146: "Locus amœnus opportunitate nemorum, capturâ copiosâ piscium, "ecclesiæ congruente fabricâ, fluvialibus rivis per officinas monachorum decurrentibus, "qui, suo impetu effusi, quicquid invenerunt superfluum portant in exitum.—Cernitur in "eôdem monasterio sepulchrum Ordgari, spectaculoque ducitur enormitas mausolii filii "ejus." Leland's Coll. iv. 152: "*Tavestoke.* Kilwardeby super libros priorum: Lin-"colniensis super libros posteriorum eulogium Joannis Cornubiensis ad Alexandrum papam. "Constantinus Aphricanus, monachus Cassinensis, de re medicâ. *S. Rumonus sepultus* "*apud Tavestoke.*"

temptation, and secured themselves from the danger by the impossibility of a trial; wise, however, in their very exercise of timidity, and strong from the very sense of their weakness. The scene of Rumon's retirement is fixed, by his biographer, in terms that indicate the latter to have written when his names were well known in the county. "THE "NEMÆAN WOOD, in Cornwall," he observes, "was formerly very full "of wild beasts; SAINT RUMON MADE AN ORATORY FOR HIMSELF in "THE NEMÆAN WOOD †." But where was this wood, so similarly denominated with one in ancient Arcadia? It was not, like that, in the bosom of the peninsula. It was not in the Arcadian park of Cornwall at all. It was on the exposed and beaten prominence that shoots out into the Lizard; as a single word extracted from the Life serves to shew, and as some local notices unite to confirm. Immediately after Leland has rehearsed from the biographer, that "Rumon made an ora-"tory for himself in the Nemean wood;" he subjoins, in a distinct line, this local appellation, "Falemutha," as an equal extract from the biographer, and as the biographer's notation of the vicinity of the site to Falmouth ‡. The harbour of this name has been better known to the English from the numerous advantages which it enjoys, in the narrow divided avenue into it, in the broad bosom which it displays within, in the many creeks that run up into the land from it, in the general depth of water through all, and in the general security of all from winds; than any other point in the whole compass of Cornwall, I believe, through all the periods of our history. Just such is the case with Milford Haven, in Wales, at present. *That* has *therefore* borne so long the English appellation of Falmouth, and *this* of Milford Haven, as to have lost all traces, all memory, of their Cornish or their Welsh names *.

We

† Leland's Coll. iv. 152, 153: "Ex Vitâ Rumoni. 'Rumonus genere fuit Scotus Hiber-"niensis.'—Nemea Sylva.—'Nemea sylva in Cornubiâ plenissima olim ferarum.—S. Ru-"monus faciebat sibi oratorium in sylvâ Nemæa'."

‡ Ibid. 153: "Falemutha."

* Leland's Itin. vi. 63: "Falemouthe is a mere Englische worde, and hathe the name," *not* "of many mouthes of crekes that be withyn the havyn," but from its constituent river the Fal, that there empties itself into the sea. The harbour is accordingly denominated by Ptolemy,

We thus find a notice of the English title for the Cornish harbour, so early as the very tenth century. Immediately to the west and south-west of this, ranges a long way into the channel, that peninsulated ground which terminates in the Lizard. The biographer then, being an English man of Devonshire, and writing where his work was found, at Tavistock, naturally settled the position of the wood for his countrymen, by referring to a place in the vicinity best known to the English, and by adopting the English name for the place. He thus intimated the wood to be not far from Falmouth harbour. In that vicinity, not very near indeed, but near enough for a man writing at such a distance and to such readers †, we find two parishes dedicated to St. Rumon at present. These are *Ruan Major* and *Ruan Minor*, one formerly included in the other, but both included once in St. Kevern, both including also St. Grade and Landewednack once. For the church of St. Grade still tithes all the estates in St. Kevern, which run from the village of Gwentor to the borders of Ruan parishes westward; tithes equally one third of the barton of Erisey, and of the tenement of Trenoon, though at a considerable distance from it, though actually far within the parish of Ruan Major; and also tithes the tenement of Voge, though contiguous to the old glebe of Landewednack. The reason for all this pre-eminence in St. Grade, this sort of seignioral royalty in that parish over the neigh-

Ptolemy, the Mouth of the Cenio; the Fal so called then, and actually having upon it the ancient town Cenia, the present Tre-goney. The Cornish name of the harbour, therefore, was in all probability *Port Geney*, as Tre Geney (pronounced Treg'ney) is the castle on the Cenia. "Nomen sumpsisse videtur," adds Leland, in ix. 64, in some measure correcting himself for what he had said before, "a Fala fluvio;—ego tamen aliquando audivi quendam "contendentem, nomen loco ex multis ostiis fuisse inditum," an etymon which he rejects here, though he was weak enough to adopt it before. Then Leland speaks in these equally magnificent and elegant terms of the harbour: "Utcunque sit, constat *secundum hunc esse* "*a primo*," second only to Milford Haven, "totius Britanniæ portum;—collustravi Falen-"sem, bone Deus, quantum ibi fidissimæ stationis, quantum recessuum, quantum divor-"tiorum, quantum cornuum! rursus, quàm quieta, quàm secura sint illic omnia! *non* "*poterat facilè lusisse natura majori in portu commoditate.*"

† Camden, p. 137, does the same, though obliged to much more exactness than a biographer; "reducto ab hôc Meneg littore," he says, concerning the Lizard, "sinus— "occurrit Vale fluviolum recipiens."

Rumon lived at S. Ruan near Grade.

bouring parishes, results from one simple circumstance, which is closely connected with my subject. Near the church of St. Grade is an estate, which is KNOWN FROM TRADITION TO HAVE BEEN THE PARTICULAR RESIDENCE OF SAINT RUMON, and is therefore denominated SAINT RUAN at present. And as the parish of Ruan Minor is merely a narrow *lingula* of land, between St. Grade's tenements on the opposing sides of St. Kevern and of Ruan Major parishes; so are both the Ruans, Major and Minor, denominated expressly "the church of Saint Rumon," in the Valor of pope Nicholas *. Here then, though all traces of the name have now vanished, was the Nemean wood of Cornwall, spreading all over the broad back of the peninsula, defying by its combined powers all the blasts that now sweep this region with so much violence, and affording warm shelter for beast or man in the interiors of it. Here, therefore, was the oratory of St. Rumon, within the thickets of the Nemean wood. The thickets, however, had been cleared of the wild beasts, when the biographer wrote the life of the saint; and the site exists only in part, with any of its original wildness at present. This part is Leland's "wyld moore cawled Gunhilly, i. e. Hilly Hethe; wher ys brood of "catyle †." This is a tract of land near three miles across, chiefly consisting of a loamy soil, but bearing not even copse-wood at present; on which those little horses of Cornwall used formerly to be bred ‡, the memory of whom is still preserved in the remembered appellation of Gunhilles, and close to which the church of St. Grade has a portion of its parish now §. "There is a kinde of naggs," says Norden, "bredd upon "a mountanous and spatious peece of grounde, called Goon-hillye, "lyinge betwene the sea coaste and Helston; which are the hardeste "naggs and beste of travaile for their bones within this kingdome, re-"sembling in body for quantitie, and in goodnes of mettle, the Galloway "naggs ‖." Here, near to the site of St. Grade's church, at the village still denominated St. Ruan from the fact, towards the southern extremity of the whole, and upon the leeward or eastern side of it, in a position much nearer to the sun than any other region of Britain, and as

* "Ecclesia Sancti Rumoni."
† Leland's Itin. vii. 118.
‡ Borlase's Nat. Hist. 88.
§ Large map of Cornwall.
‖ Norden, 20.

so sheltered by the woods to windward, very much warmer, did St. Rumon live; having a cell for his habitation, and a chapel for his devotions; regardless of the wild beasts around him, seeing them perhaps in his walks, hearing them perhaps in his prayers, yet beholding them probably to flee the face of this strange intruder on their privacies.

Even the *particular* position of his chapel and his cell seems to be pointed out to us by the general appellation of his forest. When we find the same sort of appellation occurring in other regions of the Celtic language; we know our own to be equally Celtic with theirs. When we find the fountain of *Nemausus* in the south of France, giving name to the town of Nemausus, or Nismes, there; a river in another part of France, discharging itself mediately into the Moselle, under the title of *Nemesa*, or *Nyms* *; and a fountain of Spain, bearing in Martial the very title of our Cornish forest, *Nemea* †; we see our title, like that of Nismes, derived solely from a fountain. Then we irresistibly refer this fountain to the hermitage of St. Rumon, sensible from all that we have previously learnt, of the attractiveness of a fountain to a hermit, and of a hermit's settlement being always at a fountain. And we accordingly see these circumstances combining with each other, with the notices which I have given before, and with one or two that I shall give immediately hereafter, in the present case. About a quarter of a mile to the north-east of Grade church, is a noted well, from which is fetched all the water used in baptism at the church. It has also a saint and a hermit belonging to it, being denominated St. Grade's well; this "Sancta "Grada, alias Grade ‡," settling at it in some later period, when the parishes of Ruan Major and Minor had been both laid out in one, so superseding the name of Rumon at it, and even occasioning a new parish to be formed out of fragments of both, with Landewednack as a

* D'Anville in Notice Ancienne de la Gaule, 479: "Dans le poeme d'Ausone sur la "Moselle, *Nemesa* et Pronea sont deux rivieres qui grossissent celle de Sura; et en-effet "*Nyms* reunie à la riviere de Prum, est reçue par la riviere de Sour, qui se rend dans la "Moselle."

† Martial, i. 50.

‡ So called in Henry's Valor.

chapelry

chapelry afterwards to it, now equally a parish-church itself. But it proves its own relationship to St. Rumon, by lying *very near* to *Saint Ruan village*, close on the left of the road, at the head of a little hill, and fronting the village. It is walled up at the back and sides with dense black iron-stones; but the front, and particularly the arched entrance, is composed of coarse granite. The water is very fine and pellucid, exactly answering therefore to Ausonius's description of the fountain at Nismes,

. . . . . Vitreâ non luce Nemausus
Purior.

The water too, which is always up to the brim of the basin, is remarkably cold in summer; and thus answers exactly again to Martial's description of his fountain in Spain;

Avidam rigens Dercenna *placabit sitim*,
Et *Nemea* quæ *vincit nives*.

So faithfully represented do we discern the Nemausus and the Nemea of the continent, in the Nemea of our own Cornwall! And so judiciously had our St. Rumon selected the waters of this fountain for his own beverage! His hermitage, however, was not immediately upon the brink of it, but in what is now the village, pleasantly situated upon a little hill, like the well, and distant about a stone's throw, or rather more, from it. The village consists only of about half a dozen houses, all mean, except one on the right hand, just as you ascend the hill. This has a ruinous fence before it, denominated the court-wall, and built with iron-stones, enormously large. The house itself was nearly all in ruins about forty years ago, was therefore rebuilt, but had originally windows and a doorway, all arched like the well. Some of the moorstones that composed the doorway and windows, are still upon the ground; while the other stones are like those of the court-wall, iron-stones enormously large. Here then we have the very hermitage of St. Rumon; afterwards converted into a chapel, like St. Mawe's; but latterly, though built of materials so strong and so massy, sinking under the weight of its own antiquity, and crumbling into ruins §. Hence,

§ Naim, Neimh (I.), brightness; Neimhin (I.), Niamhaim (I.), to shine or be bright; Neimheach (I.), glittering or shining; Neamhain (I.), a pearl; Neamhonn (I.), a diamond; and

Hence, however, St. Rumon must have been taken with that holy kind of violence, which *we*, in the predominance of worldly wisdom, are apt to consider as merely ceremonial, but which must have been real in such a sanctified hermit as this; in order to be made a bishop. That he *was* a bishop, Malmesbury decisively shews us. But he soon probably returned from his palace of St. German's, and resettled in his hermitage at St. Ruan; because his biographer takes no notice of his exaltation. From nature and from habit, his relish probably was too strong for a life of retirement, for the energies of vocal prayer, and for the ecstacies of mental devotion; to bear the interruptions of business, to suffer the intrusions of company, and to endure the impertinences of conversation. Nor let the modern world smile at this, in its bustling activities after nothing; while the ancient knew well the respect that was justly due to it. He certainly died at his cell, was buried in his oratory, and then became sainted by the reverence of the country adjoining. His oratory thus expanded into a church at some distance, his wood was formed into a parish, and the wild beasts were dislodged to make room for human inhabitants. Yet his relics were preserved with religious attention at his own hermitage-chapel, and his name was affixed with religious veneration to it. The place took the name of St. Ruan, as the parish-church took the equal appellation of Ruan. But when "Ordulph, duke of *Cornwall*" and Devonshire, under the Saxon sovereigns, in 961, erected a monastery at Tavistock; he was so struck with their reverence for Rumon's name, Rumon's relics, and Rumon's memory; that he took up the bones of the saint, and transferred them to his new monastery *. There the saint was buried in pomp, with the ensigns of his episcopal dignity upon his monument, and with the tra-

and Neamh (I.), heaven, with its derivatives Neamhach (I.), a heavenly spirit; Naomh (I.), a saint; Naomtha (I.), holy; Neimheadh (I.), glebe-land. The radical idea, therefore, is brightness, and this has gradually shot out into glebe-land. I have traced the ramifications to shew the necessity of digging down to the very root in these inquiries, and to produce an etymon coinciding with all the names. Goes Naimh, Neimh, or Neimheach (I.), would signify the Wood of the Bright Fountain.

* Leland's Coll. iv. 153: "Ordulphus, dux Cornubiæ, transtulit ossa Rumoni Tave-"stochiam."

dition of his saintship attached to it. There, as William of Worcester additionally informs us, "Saint Ramon, a *bishop*, an *Irishman*, lies in a "shrine within the abbey-church of Tavystoke, between the quire and "St. Mary's chapel †." And there also his life was written, from such memorials as then remained of him at St. Ruan, after a lapse of years so great, that his biographer says his wood was FORMERLY very full of wild beasts, and thus uses a language which throws us back two or three hundred years in time, even nearly to the commencement of our Cornish see. Thus should Rumon come in, one of the very first bishops of Cornwall, and long prior to any of the Saxon prelates ‡.

But let us try if we cannot reduce the chronology into a shorter compass, by the pressure of some incidents preceding.—We have seen the parish of Gerens laid out about the year 650, and the church of it taking the name of a religious king, who died in the district under the year 596 *. We have also seen the parish of Philley, laid out about the same year §. The latter, however, we have observed to have been originally a member of another parish, Ruan Lanyhorne adjoining; and *this* was therefore prior to *that*, as the parent to the child. Yet it was but just prior, I believe. Originally itself a part of the parish of Veryan, that mighty polypus from which have been produced so many successively, by the mere act of abscission; as is plain to the examining mind from several circumstances, the ex-

† W. de Worcestre, 105: "Informacio Thomæ Peperelle de Tavystoke, notarii publici: "Sanctus Ramonus episcopus, Hiberniæ, jacet in scrinio, in ecclesiâ abbathiæ de Tavy- "stoke, inter chorum et capellam Beatæ Mariæ."

‡ In Butler's Lives of the Saints, translated into French by abbé Godescard, and published in twelve tomes octavo, at Paris, 1783-1788, is this strange account of "Saint "Rumon, evêque. On ne connoit point le siege, qu'a occupé ce saint. On n'en sait pas "davantage sur le detail de sa conduite, parce que sa vie a été perdue durant la fureur des "guerres. Quoiqu'il en soit, son culte est fort ancien à Tavistock, en Devonshire, où le "comte Ordulf *lui* bâtit une eglise en 960. Son nom est marqué *au 4 Janvier*, dans la "second edition du Martyrologe de Wilson, qui *avoit été instruit par ceux du pays* de ce qui "concernoit le saint." (i. 83.) So ignorant do these martyrologists and biographers appear, concerning their own saints!

* See iv. 4, preceding.

§ See v. 1, preceding.

tension of Veryan upon two sides of it, the separation of Veryan from it by merely two lanes in general, the interposition of Veryan in a narrow tongue of land betwixt it and Tregoney, even the actual incorporation of Veryan into one manor with it to the present moment; it became emancipated, when he who held Veryan under the king, retired from the immediate vicinity of the king at Gwendraith there, and transferred his manor-house from the *church-town* of Veryan to that of Ruan Lanyhorne. The whole royalty is now denominated the manor of *Elerky and Ruan Lanyhorne* conjointly, and the primary site of the house is still known by the appellation of Elerky. From this site the lord removed to the northern extremity of the parish, at some distance from Gwendraith and the sea, yet upon a tide-rivulet, and along its bank sloping sharply to the mid-day sun. On this position he built himself a house, regularly castellated in itself, provided with a dungeon for his manerial prison, and just resigned up to destruction when Leland came to visit it; he saying, concerning the rivulet, that "at the head of this "creeke standith the castelle of Lanyhorne, sumtyme a castel of an "tourres, now decaying for lak of coverture ‡." Some considerable ruins of it even yet remain, though the village has been all constructed of its stones. But the church was coæval with the castle, the lord, in a just reverence for the rites of religion, erecting a church, and stationing a clergyman by the side of his castle, just as he had then by his manor-house at Veryan, for the spiritual emolument of himself and his household; procuring a portion of the old parish to be sequestered from it for a new one, procuring the tithes of this portion to be appropriated to a new rector, and liberally bestowing a large compass of land upon him for a glebe. The church being called Lan-y-horne, or the church at the angle, from its position upon a triangular piece of ground, that comes prominent in a point on the south-west, and looks down from an elevation of seven or eight feet upon the parsonage-house with its appendages, lying reclined on the immediate margin of the creek §; it has

‡ Itin. iii. 29.

§ *Lan-hern*, the name of the manor-house in Mawgan parish, near St. Columb, and once the name of the parish itself (Carew, 93), like our own Lanyhorne, is derived, like our own, from the angular form of the ground, upon which the church certainly stands.

has caused *this* to be denominated *Lanyhorne pill*, or creek; the house to be entitled (as we have seen) *Lanyhorne castle*, and the district, all nameless before, to be denominated *Lanyhorne parish* *. Such a dominion had the ideas of a church, as the temple of God and the house of his worship, over the fancy and the language of the Cornish populace then! Thus we find the church noticed in the Valor of 1292, as "ecclesia de *Lanihorn*;" immediately after the mention of "ecclesia "de *Elerky*." But Rumon, the bishop of Cornwall and the hermit of Nemea, being sainted; his name was fixed upon it, and the *Lan-y-horn* was dedicated to *Saint Ruan*. Then the two names contended for pre-eminence through several ages, here as well as at Veryan; the saintly endeavouring to rank with the seignioral, and even to supersede it. From a principle of religious reverence for the memory of the saint, his name became popular in conversation for that of the parish; while the other was retained in all formal writings, out of a proper adherence to ancient and original appellations. But the popular name was sure to prevail at last, from the continual recurrence of it in conversation. Accordingly we find the title of Elerky completely sunk in conversation at present, for that of Veryan. Yet the daughter-parish seems to have maintained the contest with greater firmness than the mother. Lanyhorne and Ruan went on for a long time, as equal claimants for the right of denominating the parish; but the latter was plainly gaining ground upon the former. The

So Linkin*horne*, Lanking*horne* in the last Valor, Lanken*horn* in the first; Polkan*horne*, a personal name in Cornwall; Tregan*horn*, a house so called in Cornwall; all signify in the last syllable what *Cornu* does in Latin, and what Kornel (W.), Cornat, Cornal (C.), Korn (A.), or Kearn (I.), do, a *corner*. And that Corn (C.) was occasionally pronounced as its derivative Horn in English, is plain from the personal and local appellations above, the very personal being originally local, and from the appearance of the word Sorn (C.), a corner, being merely Horn with the sibilating prefix to it. So Castle Hornick in Cornwall means, not the Iron Castle surely, as Pryce and Borlase and Tonkin unite to interpret it, but, as common sense suggests in opposition to them all, the Castle in a Corner.

* Leland's Itin. iii. 29: "From Lanyhorne *Pille*," not "Pyle" for castle, as Burton reads the word, but Pil (C.), a creek; as we have, p. 28, "Lanyhorne Creeke or *Hille*," Pille, p. 29, "Lanyhorne Pille," and "S. Juste Pille, *or Creke*." We have even at this day, and upon this river, the Fal, a creek running by the church of Feock, and denominated Pil.

parish

parish is called in the last Valor "Ruon *or* Lanyhorne," the seignioral and sainted names here standing upon the same ground, but the sainted taking precedence of the seignioral †. The lord's copse in the parish is at this day called Lanyhorne Wood, while the rector's is called Ruan Wood. In this partition of the parish between the two rivals, an even balance of power was set up; but could not be long maintained, when the sainted name was supported on the shoulders of the many, and the seignioral was only "upheld by old repute." Yet it was maintained more equally than we should expect; the formal title of the parish being Ruan Lanyhorne at present; Ruan as the presiding half of the name, but Lanyhorne as not extinguished like Elerky; while, in that predominance of spirit which originally created the contest, which made Lanyhorne, like Pompey, object to an equal, and Ruan, like Cæsar, revolt against a superior, Cæsar's cause has finally prevailed, and *Ruan* is *the only name in all the country round.* Thus does it bear triumphantly upon its brow, the signature of its relation to St. Rumon; a relation begun when it begun itself, commencing therefore in the seventh century, with Philley and with Gerens, yet commencing some time before them, even much nearer to the erection of the Cornish episcopate, about 614, and shewing St. Rumon to have been, in all probability, *the very first bishop that ever presided over it* *.

The

† Not as published by Bacon, where the name is merely "Ruon Lanyhorne," but, as the receivers of the tenths direct the rector to pay them specifically for "Ruon *or* "Lanyhorne."

* St. Rumon became so famous at Tavistock, that Henry I. granted to Tavistock, "nun- "dinas ad festum *Sancti Rumoni* per tres dies" (Monasticon, i. 219 and 1000), a fair still kept on the *ninth* of September, as the feast of Ruan Lanyhorne is accordingly on the *second* Sunday in September; that William Rufus confirmed to the abbey an estate "per *cultellum ebur-* "*neum*," so old is the ivory knife among us! "quod in manu tenuit et abbati porrexit," and "qui quidem cultellus jacet *in feretro Sancti Rumoni*" (p. 997); that so early as 1193, the church, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary alone (p. 996), had associated St. Rumon with her in the patronage of itself, "in honore Beatæ Mariæ et *Sancti Rumoni* "*confessoris*" (p. 998); that, though the church at times retained the Virgin Mary for its patron to the last (p. 997, 999, 1003), yet at times also it did not, and Rumon even superseded the Virgin herself, a donation of land "abbati *monasterii Sancti Rumoni* de Tavi- "stock," being dated the 26th of Edward III. (p. 1001, 1002); and that one Richard de Wiche

5 January.

The Saxon sovereigns, on the reduction of Cornwall in 936, very naturally nominated Cornish clergymen to be bishops of St. German's, in order to conciliate the minds of their new subjects, and to conceal half of their subjection from them. This principle, however, would operate only at first; and Saxons would then be appointed to this, as well as to every other see of the Saxons. A religious respect for the difference of language in Cornwall, should certainly have come in as a powerful auxiliary to policy, and as a principle of action much more dignified in itself; to continue Cornishmen in the throne of St. German's, as educated in the language of the country, as familiar with the manners of the natives, as therefore most competent to discharge their high duties towards both. But the interests of religion are seldom suffered to mingle with, and seldomer to oppose themselves against, the advantages of policy, either in private or in public persons; and the prelates of Cornwall, however Cornish at first, were certainly Saxon afterwards. The first who sat under the patronage of England, even Conan, was evidently a Cornishman; the name being apparently Cornish in itself. This prelate seems to have been a hermit before he was a bishop, like Rumon; and in that parish of Roche too, where his memory is still revered, his name is still fixed upon the church, and his well, his meadow, with his park, are still recognised to this day. He was assuredly the original hermit of that very rock, which from him has so long lent its appellation to the parish; to which perhaps he retired occasionally from his house at Trefrank, for a stricter sequestration, a more rigorous solitude, during the season of Lent; and from which his name of Conan has been nearly lost in the descriptive title of

Bishop Conan.

Wiche is noticed in a confirmation made by Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, to have granted some tithes to the monastery, "et hanc donationem super *altare Beati Rumoni* "Tavistochiæ," as now the high altar of the church, "per librum Evangeliorum manu "propriâ obtulisse" (p. 1002). But the immediate connexion between the parish of Ruan Lanyhorne and the abbey of Tavistock, through the medium of St. Rumon, is strongly marked by this incident. "The castelle of Lanyhorne," says Leland, iii. 29, "—lonegid "as *principal* house to the *archedecon*'s;" and one of these, "Dominus Odo le *arcedeakne* "miles," in the 17th of Edward I. gave an estate in Devonshire, "Beatæ Mariæ et *Sancto* "*Rumono* et abbati de Tavistock." (Monasticon, p. 997.)

Saint

Saint Roche, or the Holy Man of the Rock. From this hermitage he was removed to the throne of St. German's, the Saxon king imitating the Cornish in his nomination of a hermit for his first prelate; and on his death, canonized by the partial veneration of his countrymen. But his name remains a family-name in Cornwall to this day; Conan being only varied into Conon, or lengthened out into Conant, as it is now written; or even vitiated into *Gonnet*, as it is now pronounced at Roche *. Thus Rumon is equally a family-name in Cornwall still, with

* Tonkin's MS.: "This parish is dedicated to St. Roche—. It is named *De Rupe* in "Taxat. Ben. 1291, from its remarkable rock," rather from its Saint of the Rock; *De Rupe* in the Valor being the name, not of the parish but of the church; and "*ecclesia* de "Rupe," as the appellation of the Valor really is, meaning just as "ecclesia de Anton," or "ecclesia de Macre," or "ecclesia de Keyne," the church of the saint, St. Roche's church. It "was then dedicated to St. Conant, whose memory is still preserved by his well "on Trefrank, his park and meadow, corruptly called St. Gonnet's." Mr. Tonkin was peculiarly fortunate in catching these traditions at the very moments of their flight. They are now all gone, except "St. *Gonnet*'s park," as called, a field about an acre in extent, a stone's throw from the rock, and to the west of it. But what is considered as the hermitage on the rock, is merely a chapel erected on the site of the hermitage at his death, and re-erected so little a time before the Reformation, as to carry an aspect too modern surely to be mistaken, as I have known it mistaken, for a *British* antiquity, by any who will use their senses in contradiction to their opinions. Antiquaries coming into Cornwall to view its remains, come with their minds all disordered by the expectation of druidical monuments, and—find these in every relique of antiquity.—We thus discover, and in the very name of a parish, a word utterly lost to the Cornish language, and retained only in the Bretoon, Roche, a rock: "Ce mot," says Pelletier, "se trouve dans les anciens livres, et dans l'usage d'au-"jourd'hui." So we have *Roche* in French, *Rochelle*, *Rochfort*, in France, and *Roche Abbey*, famous for its stone, in Yorkshire.—The well on Trefrank, colloquially called Tre-rank, is at a little distance from the rock; and the estate seems to have taken its name from some exemption granted to it, as we have a green by the ancient site of the lord's house at Veryan, on which a fair is traditionally reported to have been held formerly, denominated Toll-*frank* Green. The hermitage is so entire at one end, that we may discern its whole form perfectly. From two windows there, and a pediment projecting midway between them, we see the whole consisted of two stories and two rooms; the upper, from its large and ornamented window, appearing to have been the chapel; but the lower, with its petty window, the abode of the chaplain, almost as much a hermit as St. Roche himself. The lower is the room into which the ascent leads, and leads by steps formed in the rock; but led, till these very few years, by a ladder brought occasionally for the purpose, as the rock then formed an abrupt precipice.

the

the pronunciation of it into Roman *; and seems from the parish denominated Romansleigh in Devonshire, as dedicated to him, to have been so pronounced by the English. But the Cornish, using that elision which I have formerly noted in the letter *n* among the Britons, which they extended equally to the kindred letter *m*, and of which the same signature still remains for both among us, in the omission of the letters upon paper, and in a stroke over them to note the omission; Rumon was abbreviated, as we have seen, into Ruon, or Ruan. So Rhufain is Welsh for Rome at present, but must originally have been for Romans, as Rhufeiniaid is for Romans; Rhufon, Ruon, the proper name of a man (says Davies), but a soldier (adds Lhuyd), and both, however contradictorily, yet very justly, I believe, as the word is really Rhufon, a Roman, thence settled naturally into the personal appellation of a man, and as naturally diverted to signify a soldier; as we have it meaning again, in Rhyon (Welsh) a soldier, and in Rhun (Welsh) the proper name of a man, the name particularly of a Welsh king up in the sixth century †. In Cornwall we have Reve and Ruan for Rome, Revenuer and Rouan for a Roman ‡. Accordingly we find Rumon to be denominated Roman expressly, not merely in the English Romansleigh of Devonshire, but in an intimation of his burial at St. Ruan, by one of Leland's English authors §.

Such were two of the British bishops of Cornwall, one antecedent by three centuries to the Saxon reduction of the country, and one cotemporary with it. To these we are inclined to add the Stidio of the false

* Carew, 63: "John Roman." It is also a name at Tregoney still.

† Richards, the Welsh Bible, and Rowlands's Mona Antiqua, 148.

‡ Pryce and Borlase. In Carew, 39, a record 8 Henry IV. gives us "Polraman" in Lysnewith hundred, and upon the *northern* coast; the same appellation, assuredly, with "Pol-ruan" on the *southern*.

§ Leland's Coll. iv. 81: "Sanctus—Romanus episcopus, in loco [sepelitur] qui dicitur "Aeyesty-ealum [at West-Wealum], prope brachium maris quod vocatur Hegesmunda "[Hegel-mutha]," near that arm of the sea which is called Hele or Helford river; just as the Hayle of St. Ive's is denominated Hegel-mithe, by Malmesbury, 146. In Leland's Itin. viii. 15, we have "Johan. Romanus" archbishop of York.

list,

list, as a third; because his name seems too romanized to be Saxon, to lengthen out in the Roman mode from Stidio into Stidionis, and in this form to be fixed upon the church of St. Stedian, alias St. Stythyan, within our deanery of Kerrier. Yet on full examination we cannot admit it; nor can the list receive any support from a coincidence so apposite, and an analogy so inviting. The church of Stythyan is denominated from a *female* saint, and is therefore called in the Valor of pope Nicholas "the church of Sancta Stediana*." Conan was the last Briton, I believe, who ever sate in the episcopal throne at St. German's. The rest were all Saxons. So early as the year 966, only thirty years after the nomination of Conan to the throne, we find Athelstan to be seated in it, and we know him to be a Saxon by his name†. In 994 we find Ealdred to be equally a bishop, and know him equally by his name to be a Saxon‡. But we shall soon find another bishop, under the varying name of Brightwold, Brithwold, Burgald, or Burwald; evidenced to be a Saxon by all the variations, and standing the very last of all our bishops of St. German's §.

Bishop Athelstan.

Bishop Ealdred.

Bishop Brithwold.

So apparently Saxon as all these were, let us retrace our steps, and go back in our quest for Britons. Then we shall find some who were Britons equally with Conan or Rumon, and were taken too, like them, from a hermitage. That such men as hermits should be *coveted* for prelates, should be *allured* from their cells, should even be *forced* out into active life; seems very natural to a period, in which goodness was esteemed superior to learning, the flame of the heart to the light of the head, a fervent spirit of devotion to adroitness in the management of business, and the graces of an angel to the virtues of a mere man. The passions of the public then gravitated generally to religion, as their common centre. Both king and people there found a reverence for the clergy, as the official saints of GOD; and there felt a veneration for the

* "Ecclesia Stæ. Stedianæ."

† Ingulphus, 502.

‡ Monasticon, i. 227: "Episcopium Ealdredi episcopi, id est in provinciâ Cornubiæ."

§ See next chapter, sect. i.

bishops, as the *sancti sanctorum* of the clergy. But now opinions are so changed, that to be a saint would never draw down a mitre upon the head of a clergyman, to be a hermit would disqualify entirely for the management of a diocese, and learning alone is the ostensible recommendation to a bishopric; even when our government is *not* compelled, as too frequently it is, from its inability of resting firmly upon its own foundations of power, from its finding principle not sufficiently operative in favour of allegiance, to higgle and huckster even with bishoprics for its own support.

S. Piran, Bp. of Cornwall.

Thus we see in the calendars of our Cornish saints, that SAINT PIRAN, who came out of Ireland a mere saint, was, as a saint, exalted into a bishop in Cornwall; he being entitled in one of them "Saint "Pieram, bishop," and in another, "Saint Pyram, *bishop of Corn-* "*wall**." We find also that SAINT GERMOCH, who came from Ireland with Breaca, and was then a king, became equally a bishop afterwards; his name being thus recited, with the supersedence of the royal by the episcopal title, "Saint Gyermoch, *bishop*, his day is kept on the day of "St. John in the holydays of the Nativity, at three miles from Mount "St. Michael†." In the same calendars we meet with a third prelate of Cornwall, in a third hermit from Ireland; SAINT CARANTOC being expressly recorded there, as "*bishop* and confessor," and his day noted as "the 16th of May, under the letter C‡." And we find even a fourth of these sainted refugees from Ireland, SAINT ERGHE, made a bishop; as "St. Herygh, brother of St. Vuy [Vny]," bears the title of "bishop," like Rumon; but, like Rumon, has his remains removed out of Cornwall, as "he lies in a certain church under the cross of St.

S. Germoe, Bishop.

S. Carantoc, Bishop.

S. Herygh, Bishop.

* W. de Worcestre, p. 107: "In libro kalendarii principalis libri Antiphaner [Anti-"phoner.] ecclesiæ Thomæ, prioris canonicorum de Bodman, inveni scriptum *de bonâ* "*manu*, 'Sanctus Pieramus, episcopus'." P. 134, 135: "In ecclesiâ de Lanceston.—"'Sanctus Pyramus, episcopus de Cornubiâ'." See also v. 1, before.

† Ibid. 107: "Sanctus Gyermochus, episcopus; dies ejus agitur die Sancti Johannis in "festo natalis, per tria milliaria de Monte Sancti Michaelis." See iv. 7, before.

‡ Ibid. 108: "Sanctus Karantocus, episcopus et confessor, 16 die Maii, C littera." See v. 1, before.

"Paul's

"Paul's at London ||." These, however, being prior to the erection of a Cornish see, could only have acted in their episcopal office, as suffragans to the prelate of Exeter; and being many of them cotemporaries with each other, as suffragans co-ordinate in different parts of Cornwall at the same time. These, therefore, were never seated on the stone-chair of St. German's; that *Lias Fail* of our Cornwall, upon which the spiritual sovereigns of it had immemorially used to be enthroned: yet they *were* prelates of Cornwall, and let us search for more of them.

By the same sort of light, not very strong indeed, but serving happily to soften the darkness, and hitherto unused for this purpose, we can just discern the persons of some more of our British bishops. They have hitherto lain buried in the darkness of their graves, the vaults being closed over their heads, and no memorials appearing to the inquisitive eye above; but we are now fortunate enough to find their vaults, and bold enough to break them open; yet advance into the dropping damps, and invade the awful stillness, listening with fear to the very echo of our foot-fall, and holding our little lamp before us with a tremulous hand. In that calendar of the church of Tavistock, which has particularly preserved the name and title of St. Rumon, are equally preserved those of another saint; "SAINT ELIDIUS" being there denominated "a bishop," his day being said to be "the eighth of August," and his remains being stated to "lie in the isle of Sylley *." The same saint, under the same appellation, a little varied into "Seynt Lyda," is declared from the trumpet of tradition at the place, always sounded in the legend of the saint at the church, to have been "the son of a "king," and probably of an Irish king, though our extract from the legend has here a *lacuna* in it †. He lived a saint in what was denominated from him St. Lyde's Isle, contractedly for St. Elid's, and viciously

S. Elidius, Bishop.

|| Worcestre, 106: "Sanctus Herygh, frater Sancti Vuy [Vny], episcopus, jacet in "quâdam ecclesiâ scitâ sub cruce ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli Londoniarum." See v. 1, before.

* Ibid. 115: "In kalendario ecclesiæ monasterii Tavistoke. '..... Sancti Elidii, "episcopi, 8 die Augusti; jacet in insulâ Sullys'."

† Ibid. 98: "Insula Seynt Lyda (fuit filius regis .....)."

saints of Ireland were, Barrus, Barrocus, Finian, or Find-barrus *; was equally Irish himself with both, therefore, and was so denominated undoubtedly, as we are assured that one of those Irish saints was from his fine head of hair †. His original appellation thus appears to have been what the tradition of Fowey has carefully transmitted to us, Fimbarrus, and the others are only abbreviations of it; *Fin*, in Irish, being the same word as *fine* in English, while *Bar* signifies the hair of the head. But let us now proceed to the other in our catalogue of bishops.

S. Hyldren.

"SAINT HYLDREN," says our very useful memorialist, from monuments *then* very accessible and obvious, but soon whirled away by a tornado of reformation, "a *bishop*, lies *in the parish of Lansalux*," Lansalloes, alias Lansalwys, "*near the parish of Lanteglys*: his feast is held on "the first day of February, that is, on the vigil of the Purification of "the Blessed Mary ‡." So many saints and bishops have we now discovered in this little, insulated, unfrequented angle of Cornwall, at the mouth of the river Fowey, and within the compass only of three parishes! There may the Cornish antiquary, now, for the first time, with equal curiosity and admiration,

The land of heroes and of saints survey.

Yet I can add one more to my beadroll of bishops. I find this one, however, in an incidental notice upon a monastic record; there I perceived

* Usher, 493, 494: at Clonard, "Adamnano Sanctus *Finnio*, *Findbarrus*, et *Vinnianus* "dictus;" 503, "S. *Barri* (qui et Lochanus et *Barrocus* et, communi cum *Finiano* Clun-"darnensi nomine, *Find-barrus* dictus est) in Corcagiensi ecclesiâ discipuli."

† Leland's Itin. iii. 196: "Ex Vitâ S. Fimbarri. 'Fimbarrus in Durconensi natus "oppido.—Fimbarrus in baptismo Joannes dictus. Postea *a pulchritudine capillorum* Fim-"barrus *dictus*.—Fimbarrus Albaniam petiit.—Fimbarrus in Hiberniam rediens, fit epis-"copus *Corcagensis*'." He is therefore the bishop noticed by Usher as at *Cork*, and not the bishop who was patron-saint of Fowey. Gwynn (W.) is white, *Fionn* (I.) is either white or fine, and the biographer here determines it to mean the latter only.

‡ Worcestre, 114: "Sanctus Hyldren, episcopus, jacet in parochiâ Lansalux juxta "parochiam Lanteglys; ejus festum agitur primo die Februarii, id est, vigiliæ Purificationis "Beatæ Mariæ." This saint is not the same that has lent his appellation to the chapel of Lanhydrock, in the deanery of Trigge Minor; the patron-saint of this being St. Hydrock, who was no bishop, and is merely mentioned thus by Worcestre, 108: "Sanctus Hydrocus, "confessor, die 5 Maii, F littera."

celved him from a mere casualty in reading, or (to speak more properly perhaps) from a spirit always on the wing, in exploring every corner, and examining every nook of probable, almost of possible, information for my purpose. Among the numerous relics once preserved with serious solicitude at Glastonbury, now dissipated with the unfeeling temerity of ignorance, even yet considered with a smile of supercilious pity by the vulgar many, but high objects surely of reverence to the religious, and of taste to the historical, among the learned, was the crown of a skull once belonging to "Saint CONOGLASUS, a *prelate of* S. Conoglasus, Bishop. "*Cornwall* §." This appellation is so nearly the very same with that of a British king cotemporary with Gildas, and addressed by him ‖, that we cannot but believe the bishop to have been equally British with the king. Nor does the appellation signify what Gildas, in a just indignation at the profligate king, but in a violent distortion of the word from the meaning, a distortion so violent that we cannot trace the mode of making it, intimates it to signify—the Yellow-haired Butcher ¶. It means merely the pale (or the white) lord; *Cûn* being still a lord in Welsh, and "Conn of the hundred battles" being still celebrated as a hero in the old annals of Ireland, while *Glas* denotes only the colour of either the complexion or the hair *.

Here I roll up my opened record of Cornish prelates; the record has hitherto been almost as much unopened as the roll of destiny itself. I have ventured, however, and with no ill-omened hand, I hope, to expand it all before my reader; I have thus produced a long list of prelates, all hitherto buried in the happy obscurity of their lives; as men,

§ Joannes Glastoniensis, 449: "De coronâ Sancti Conoglasii, episcopi Cornubiæ."

‖ Epistola Gildæ, 19, Gale: "Cuneglese."

¶ Ibid. ibid.: "Romanâ linguâ, Lanio Fulve."

* From some strange laxity in the old language of Britain, like that strange laxity in vision which is ascribed to the ducal Spencers of our country, in not discriminating kindred colours: *Glas* in Welsh, Cornish, and Irish, is either green, pale, blue, or gray; yet it never signifies yellow, and cannot possibly therefore signify a deep yellow, as Gildas interprets it "fulvus." This then combines with the absolute want of any word like *Con* or *Cun* for a "Lanio" or butcher, to shew us how deviously Gildas has interpreted the name.

not blazing forth to the world with the portentous glare of a comet, but shining usefully like the stars in their little orbs, overlooked like the stars by the idly busy mind of man, yet remembered by HIM who uses the stars alone for his regular ministers: and all this assemblage of British bishops have I embodied from various regions of intelligence, to supply the place of those mere ghosts or shadows which have filled up the muster-roll of history so long!

CHAPTER

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

SECTION I.

Suppression of the Bishopric of Cornwall.

See of S. Germans united to Crediton, and [redacted] removed to Exeter.

THE see of Cornwall, as I have previously suggested, commenced about the year 614: but it was now hastening to its dissolution; it actually ended before the Saxon monarchy. Just before and just after the termination of that monarchy, the tide of humoursome devoutness, which had been flowing for five ages, and settling sees in villages, began to ebb down again, and to carry back the sees into cities. Thus both the sees of Wilton and of Sherborne were transferred together to Salisbury soon after the Conquest*; as those of Crediton and St. German's were equally transferred to Exeter a little before. The principle which had planted the episcopate at St. German's ceased to operate, and the effect naturally terminated with the cause; yet the seat of the bishop was not removed from St. German's as a village, and fixed at Leskard or Lestwithiel as the capital of the province. A new principle sprung up in the mind, to give a new direction to the passions, to whirl away the Cornish episcopate into Devonshire, and to drop it at the Devonshire capital.

This dissolution of our bishopric at St. German's, however, was not a hasty stroke of death, but preceded by a kind of preparatory sickness, and foretold by some menacing symptoms of speedy mortality. That passion of avarice, which is so apt to steal over the calm unagitated breast of age, to degrade even the exalting spirit of literature, and to disgrace even the refining essence of religion in it, began the work of dissolving, by uniting the bishopric of St. German's with that of Crediton.

* Malmesbury, f. 141 and 142.

Crediton and S. Germans united, on the death of Brithwold.

diton. "Livingus," as Malmesbury informs us, "from a monk of "Winchester becoming abbot of Tavistock and bishop of Crediton, "was reckoned to possess the greatest power and familiarity with king "*Canute*—. He advanced so highly in his favour, that on the death of "his uncle *Brithwold*, who was *bishop of Cornwall*, he was to *unite* "*both the bishoprics under his own authority* †." But Malmesbury has mistaken the name of the king, and seduced Dr. Borlase into the same mistake; the Doctor has also misinterpreted the meaning of Malmesbury, or rather (as he is not much in the habit of consulting original authorities at this period of his history) has adopted the misinterpretation of another, and so given a false turn to the history. "*After the* "*death of Burwold*," he says without one reference, "his nephew "Livingus, abbot of Tavistock and bishop of Crediton, by his great in- "terest with king *Canute*, prevailed *so far* as *to unite the bishopric of* "*St. German's to that of Crediton*, A. D. 1049 ‡." This passage is pregnant with errors, and it is my business to point them out. The plan was, as we have seen in Malmesbury already, for an eventual, not an actual union; for one that was to take place *when* a future contingency happened. Livingus obtained only, that, "*on the death* of his "uncle Brithwold,—he *was to* unite both the bishoprics:" the plan therefore was *not* to be executed *till* Brithwold was dead, and was actually defeated for some years by the long life of Brithwold. The uncle survived the nephew, and (if the king was Canute) the prelate outlived the king; but the king, in fact, was Edward the Confessor. Livingus, who had become bishop of Worcester as well as prelate of Crediton, before the accession of Edward to the throne, and had then been very instrumental in raising him to it §; however worthy of reverence as a

† Malmesbury, f. 145: "Livingus, ex monacho Wintoniensi abbas Tavistokensis et "episcopus Cridiensis, maximæ familiaritatis et potentiæ apud Cnutonem regem habitus "est.—Eo apud eum gratiæ processit, ut defuncto avunculo suo Brithwoldo, qui erat Cor- "nubiensis episcopus, ambos arbitratu suo uniret episcopatus."

‡ Borlase, 379; probably from Heylyn, 72.

§ Florence, 400: "Wicciorum episcopatum Livingo, Cridiatunensi antistiti, rex dedit "Haraldus;" and 404, "Edwardus, annitentibus maximè comite Godwino et Wigorni- "ensi præsule Livingo, Lundoniæ levatur in regem."

prelate,

prelate, was shamefully avaricious as a man, engaging deeply in the politics of the times; so being (as all such prelates are sure to be) with all the traces of literary, of moral, of episcopal dignity much effaced from his mind, cunningly selfish, and meanly grasping; or, in that low language of the world which has here crept into history, "a very pru-"dent man ‖." To the two bishoprics of Worcester and Crediton, which he already possessed, he wished to add a third in St. German's: he applied to Edward for a promise of it, and the easy monarch could not refuse one to him. But death, that useful represser of the swelling eagerness of man for the trash of earth, cut short in the very midst his long project, of accumulating wealth upon wealth from the pilfered altars of GOD. Edward came to the throne in 1041 ¶, the promise was probably made immediately afterwards, and Livingus died himself upon the 23d of March, in 1046 *. So little did "Livingus—, by his great in-"terest with king Canute,—unite the bishopric of St. German's to that "of Crediton, A. D. 1049," that Livingus died in 1046, and Canute *ten* years before!

"On the death of Livingus," adds Florence, "the pontificate of "Worcester was immediately given to Aldred, and the prelacy of Cre-"diton to Leofric, a Bretoon, and the king's chancellor †." The lord high chancellor of England, who was originally the archbishop of Canterbury, as the president of the king's high court of chancery ‡, who was

Leofric succeeds Livingus.

‖ Florence, 394: "Virum prudentissimum Livingum."

¶ Sax. Chron.

* Florence, 406: "Livingus, Wicciorum, Domnaniæ, et Cornubiæ præsul, decimo "Cal. Aprilis, die Dominicâ, obiit."

† Florence, 406: "Cujus post decessum, regis cancellario, Leofrico Britonico, mox "Cridiatunensis—datus est præsulatus; et Aldredus Wicciorum episcopatum suscepit." Florence, in his mistaken notion that Livingus was really what he calls him, "Wicciorum, "Domnaniæ, *et Cornubiæ* præsul," when we know he was so by designation only, says that his successor Leofric was made bishop of St. German's as well as of Crediton, "Cri-"diatunensis et Cornubiensis datus est præsulatus."

‡ See ii. 4, preceding, at the end.

still, and continued to be for ages afterward, a clergyman §, even necessarily one (let me remark), as the professed, the official keeper of the king's conscience, had many *clerks* or clergymen under him ‖; as then the only students in civil or canon law, those universally considered institutes of equity, and held therefore what appears so ridiculous under our laical chancellors at present, many of the king's benefices in his patronage, for the promotion of those *clerks* ¶. Leofric was also, adds an old MS. in the Bodleian Library, "chaplain to the king;" or, as the Saxon Chronicle speaks exactly to the same purport, "this king's

§ M. Paris, 996: "Dum adhuc *sæcularis* et regis Ethelredi *cancellarius* extitisset;" that is, while he was a secular clergyman, and before he became a monastic one.

‖ Sparke, 19, concerning Becket, "quinquaginta duos clericos cancellarius in obsequio "suo habebat."

¶ The clerks in chancery, *as clergymen*, could not marry. This obligation was originally binding upon *all* the clerks; was first relaxed in favour of the clerk of the crown; was afterwards dissolved in favour of the cursitor clerks (the masters in chancery, formerly called clerks, with the master of the rolls as their principal); and was finally taken away from the only clerks remaining in subjection to it, those who are called the six clerks. "Whereas "of old time accustomed [it] hath been used in the—court" of chancery, says a law of the 14-15th of Henry VIII. "that *all manner* of clerks and *ministers* of the same court, writing "to the great seal, should be *unmarried*, except *only* the *clerk of the crown*; so that as well "the *coursetours* and *other* clerks, as the *six clerks* of the said chancery, were *by the same* "*custom restrained from marriage*;—and forasmuch as the said custom taketh no place nor "usage, but only in the office of the said six clerks, but that it is permitted and suffered— "that as well the said coursetours as the other clerks aforesaid, may and do take wives and "marry at their liberty,—and *of long time have so done*, without interruption or let of any "person;" the six clerks therefore, and "for that the said custom is not grounded upon "any law," petition the king for an allowance by statute to marry, have their *petition* actually *inserted as a law in the statute-book*, and by virtue of this insertion, *without any form of ratification by the king or by the estates*, have married ever since. There is only a provision annexed, that "by any thing in this act contained" the master of the rolls is not to be injured in his patronage of these clerkships, and is still to be attended by these clerks. We thus, too, account for that seeming singularity still retained, of the master's holding his *courts* and keeping his *records* in a *chapel*: he was formerly a clergyman as well as his attendants, and as well as his immediate superior of the chancery. This superior appears from his name to have equally held his court in a church, like our ecclesiastical judges, and within the *chancel* of it; and the master of the rolls was merely a *master*-clerk to those clerks the masters in chancery.

"priest;"

"priest*;" the priest or chaplain of the king being naturally the keeper of the king's conscience, and therefore chancellor to him. So much has the profession of the common law usurped upon its once as its naturally superior profession of divinity; rising with the rising attachment of all ranks to the property of earth, standing now the most lucrative and most splendid of all our professions; seating even a common lawyer upon the bench of equity, and thrusting even a layman into the post of keeper of the king's conscience! This Leofric, subjoins the old MS. "after he had received the honour of the pontificate, going over his "diocese studiously preached the word of GOD to the people committed "unto him, enlightened his clergy by his teaching, built churches not "a few, and strenuously executed the other parts of his duty†." Soon, however, "seeing both—Devonshire and Cornwall‡ to be often in-"fested and ravaged by barbarous pirates, he began—to meditate dili-"gently how he could transfer the episcopal chair of Crediton," with that of St. German's, "to the city of Exeter, where he could perform "his ecclesiastical offices safely, free from the incursions of hostility§."

Who then were the pirates which disturbed Leofric so much in his ecclesiastical offices at Crediton? They are generally considered as Danes, I apprehend, and were certainly considered as Danes by myself when I came to explore this portion of our Cornish history. But they could not possibly be such; the ravages of the Danes had concluded of course at the triumphant accession of a Danish king to the throne of England, in the person of Canute, under the year 1017, or at the formal

* Monasticon, i. 221: "Capellano suo Leofrico," and Sax. Chron. 158.

† Monasticon, i. 221: "Accepto pontificatûs honore, diocesim suam perlustrans, populo "sibi commisso verbum Dei studiosè prædicabat, clericos dóctrinâ informabat, ecclesias "non paucas construebat, et cætera quæ officii sui erant strenuè amministrabat."

‡ The MS. having previously given to Leofric "episcopatum Cridionensis ecclesiæ *atque* "*Cornubiensis provinciæ*," now describes him as "cernens *utramque* provinciam diocesis "suæ, id est, Deveniam *et Cornubiam*," &c.

§ Monasticon, i. 221: "Piratarum barbaricâ infestatione sepiùs devastari, cœpit dili-"genter meditari, qualiter episcopalem cathedram Cridionensis loci ad urbem Exoniam "transferre posset;—ubi, ab hostilitatis incursu liber, tutiùs ecclesiastica officia disponere "posset."

establishment

Irish Pirates ravage the west.

establishment of amity in Oxford, under 1018, between the Danes and the Saxons for ever ‖. Nor were there any other pirates at this period that could be called particularly "barbarous;" or, to speak more definitely, as the charge of "barbarity" is very vague, that could be said to have "infested and ravaged" either "Devonshire" or "Cornwall." There were only in the year 1049, which I shall soon prove to be the year immediately preceding this, and "in the month of August some Irish "*pirates*, who in six-and-thirty vessels entered the mouth of the river "Severn,—joined Griffin king of South-Wales, did some damage by "plundering the adjacent country,—crossed the river which is denomi-"nated Wye, burnt Dean, and slew all that they found in it. Against "these, Aldred bishop of Worcester, with a few of the provincials of "Gloucester and Hereford, marched out in haste;" but were betrayed by some Welshmen whom they had amongst them, were surprised early in the morning by the pirates, and dispersed ¶. These, therefore, did not ravage either Cornwall or Devonshire; nor indeed does Leofric mean to say they did, as he refers only to those pirates who had "*often* "infested and ravaged" the western parts of England, and as he can thus indicate the Danes alone.

Such was the reason alleged by Leofric for wishing to transfer the see of St. German, with that of Crediton, to Exeter, and for thinking to secure them within the strong walls with which Athelstan had girt this city *. The reason appears to be a very feeble one, when we consider the sees to have continued at the villages of St. German's and Crediton through all the long, the comprehensive, the horrible devastations of

‖ Sax. Chron.

¶ Florence, 409: "Eôdem anno [1049], mense Augusto, Hibernienses piratæ, 36 na-"vibus ostium intrantes Sabrinæ fluminis,—cum adjutorio Griffini regis Australium Brito-"num, circa loca illa prædam agentes, nonnulla mala fecerunt. Dein conjunctis viribus, "rex et ipsi pariter flumen quod Weage nominatur transeuntes, Dunedham incenderunt, "et omnes quos ibi reperiebant perimerunt. Contra quos Wigorniensis episcopus Aldre-"dus, et pauci de provincialibus Glavornensibus ac Herefordensibus, festinanter ascen-"derunt," &c.

* Malmesbury, f. 28.

the

the Danish wars before; while the city of Exeter, with its very girdle of walls to secure it, had been actually assaulted, actually stormed, and actually plundered, even so lately in them as the year 1003†. Nor can we account for this seemingly extravagant conduct, by supposing the present period of the Saxon history to be like a recent one in our own, in which a spirit of reformation wildly predominated over the mind, the slightest objections (such as may *for ever* be made to *any* system of government, *however reformed)* were eagerly caught up in the partial frenzy of the moment; and all the acknowledged, all the felt, all the vast happiness enjoyed under our present constitution was to be risked for innovations, certainly not necessary in themselves, certainly untried in their efficacy, probably dangerous in their operation. But the example of the French before us, possessed with the same rage for reformation, yet trying the bold experiment for reasons infinitely stronger than any which we could have, aiming naturally to rescue themselves from pressing evils, unable however to keep the wild *gas* within any bounds, seeing it break through all confinements, and feeling it at last burst out in a *tornado* that swept away the king with the people, the church with the Gospel, even all acknowledgment of the very providence, the very being of God before it; this happily brought us to our senses, made us behold clearly the knavery of our political projectors, and compelled us in our own defence to shrink back from experiments in which we *could* gain little, yet *might* lose all. We recalled to mind the case of that Italian, who kindly ordered these memorable words to be inscribed upon his tomb, words that should for ever be sounding in the ears of *honest* reformers:

I WAS WELL;
I WOULD BE BETTER;
I AM HERE*.

But no spirit like this was *then* afloat among us; the English mind did not *then* feel a more than ordinary share of sensibility; nor did the oak,

† Sax. Chron.

* See note at the end of the section.

that

that had stood all the violent hurricanes of nearly two centuries before, *then* shake and bow with a breeze.

There is generally some secret principle of selfishness in every public transaction that begins in a single heart, that assumes the appearance of a general reason, and thus induces others to co-operate with it. Leofric had imbibed no little of the selfishness of Livingus, and wanted to have that prelacy united with his own, which had been previously promised to be united with it for Livingus, and which Leofric thought perhaps he merited just as well as he. So he justly thought, I believe; he even deserved it better, I presume, yet did not deserve it at all. That two bishoprics should ever be incorporated together, except only when one of them is not competent to maintain the dignity of a bishop by itself, is the permanent prohibition of religion and wisdom combined; of religion solicitous to promote the best interests of man, and of wisdom providing the best means for promoting them. Leofric, however, had not elevation of mind to think this, or refinement of soul to respect it; selfishness vulgarizes the understanding, brutalizes the spirit, and sinks even the prelate into a peasant: he only held up before him a reason that betrays the purpose for which it was formed, and through the flimsiness of the texture discloses the nakedness of the figure behind it. In this disguise he applied to the king, and the king suffered himself to be deceived by it. He who had permitted Livingus to hold the bishopric of Worcester with that of Crediton, and had even promised him eventually the bishopric of St. German's in addition to both, was not likely to have much delicacy of religion restraining his consent to the project, and must certainly have had too much ductility of understanding to oppose strongly any selfishness in a bishop. He consented to the overture, and prepared to execute it: he was persuaded by Leofric to think, in opposition to all the experience of nearly two centuries past, that a cathedral could be safe only in the bosom of a walled city.

Edward accordingly resolving, as he tells us himself in his charter of the year 1050, "to consolidate the pontifical chair at the city of Exeter, "in

" in the monastery of the blessed Peter prince of the Apostles, which is " situated within the walls of the same city;" he appointed Leofric, and his successors after him for ever, to be bishops there *. " The " Cornish diocese," he adds, " which had been formerly assigned to an " episcopal throne, in memory of the blessed Germanus, and in vene- " ration of Petroc, I deliver with all the parishes—belonging to it, to " St. Peter in the city of Exeter, to be *one episcopal see,* and *one ponti-* " *ficate,* and *one ecclesiastical rule,* because of the *fewness*" of inhabitants at Crediton, St. German's, or Bodmin, " and *the devastation of* " *goods and persons* which the pirates *might* have made in the *Cornish* " and Crediton churches. For this reason it seemed good they should " have *a safer defence* against the enemy in the city of Exeter †. I will " *therefore* the see to be there; this is, that *Cornwall with its churches,* " and *Devonshire with its,* be *together in one episcopate,* and be *governed* " *by one bishop* ‡." But as the record goes on in a strain of confirmation peculiarly characteristic of the times, and throwing a fine air of solemnity over the whole transaction, " SO DO I EDWARD PLACE THIS " PRIVILEGE," or charter, " WITH MY OWN HAND UPON THE ALTAR OF " SAINT PETER; and LEADING THE PRELATE LEOFRIC BY THE RIGHT " ARM, and MY QUEEN EADITHA LEADING HIM BY THE LEFT, DO PLACE " HIM IN THE EPISCOPAL CHAIR, my dukes and noble cousins, with " my chaplains, being present §."

Edward the Confessor removes the See of Crediton to Exeter, 1050.

In

* Monasticon, i. 229: " Cathedram pontificalem consolidare Exoniæ civitatis in monas- " terio beati Petri Apostolorum principis, quod est situm infra mœnia ejusdem urbis.—In " perpetuo tempore constituo—præsulem Leofricum, ut sit ibi pontifex, et post illum cæteri " affuturi."

† Monasticon, i. 229: " Cornubiensis diocesis, quæ olim, in beati Germani memoriâ " atque Petroci veneratione, episcopali solio assignata fuerat, ipsam cum omnibus sibi adja- " centibus parochiis,—Sancto Petro in Exoniensi civitate trado; scilicet, ut una sit sedes " episcopalis, unumque pontificium, et una ecclesiastica regula, propter paucitatem, atque " devastationem bonorum et populorum, quam piratici [apud] Cornubienses et Cridiatu- " nenses ecclesias devastare poterant: ac, per hoc, in civitate Exoniæ tutiorem munitionem " adversus hostes habere visum est."

‡ Monasticon, i. 229: " Et ideò ibi sedem esse volo, hoc est, *in,*" the sense requires the word should be *ut,* " Cornubia cum suis ecclesiis, et Devonia cum suis, simul in uno " episcopatu sint, et ab uno episcopo regantur."

§ Monasticon, i. 229: " Ita hoc privilegium ego Edwardus rex manu meâ super altare " Sancti

In this manner was the ancient episcopate of St. German's annihilated for ever, and Cornwall for ever deprived of an episcopate within itself. Yet even all this would not have been memorable in any other way, than as exhibiting a strong feature in the complexion of the times, and as constituting a grand æra in our provincial history; if it had not been accompanied with the mischiefs, which are usually attendant upon hasty reformations. Such reformations generally create more mischiefs than what they mean to remove. In the continuance of our Cornish episcopate, indeed, was no evil either actual or probable. The episcopate had existed for centuries, the child of necessity at first; but the parent of blessings to the country. The prelate was immediately present to his clergy, and his connexion with his diocese was closely kept up by his residence within it. Settled in person at the eastern extremity of his diocese, and settling his archdeacon near the other extremity, he would have enjoyed all that knowledge, personal or derivative, of his clergy and their congregations, which alone can enable any bishop to preside with propriety of conduct, because with discrimination of characters, over the persons of his diocese. But now the prelate is thrown to a great distance, to a distance of forty miles at least, from the nearest borders of his new diocese. And in a principle of policy superinduced upon this incident, that of retaining the archdeacon near the person of the prelate, to be his grateful friend in the chapter; his very substitute, his very *eye* in the estimation of our church-establishment, is also removed to the same distance. Thus all personal inspection is impossible to the bishop, and all inspection by proxy is equally impossible. His eye, like the eye of Jupiter upon Little St. Bernard, is wholly detached from the scene of vision to which it belongs, and lies at the *foot* of the

"Sancti Petri pono; et præsulem Leofricum per dextrum brachium ducens, meaque "regina Eaditha per sinistrum, in cathedrâ episcopali consisto; præsentibus meis ducibus "et consanguineis nobilibus, necnon capellanis." This remarkable installation is intended to be delineated, in the plate of Richardson's Godwin, 395; but by a strange act of inattention, the king is placed where the prelate should be, and the prelate is exhibited with the queen leading the king. The *sovereign* is thus *installed*, instead of the bishop. He is led for installation in a form historically wrong, to *a common chair*, *a single one* too, placed *above* the steps of the *altar*, even *close up to it*. The real stalls remain at Exeter to this day; as I have noticed in ii. 1, before.

personage

personage who should be using it. And he himself, as the bishop of *Cornwall*, is now like the great Osiris of Egypt, waving a sceptre of sovereignty more in repute than in reality, and having his *eye*, a mere gem, perhaps bright in itself, yet still a mere gem, at the very *end* of his sceptre*.

SECTION

* See Course of Hannibal, i. 314-321.

Having spoken a little before concerning "the partial frenzy of the moment," I wish here to add, that I thus allude to the whole of the war, in which refined France has been resolved into a merely military chaos of society, like that of ancient Gaule, has therefore been enabled, like Gaule, to pour forth its martial hordes of plundering barbarians upon the world, yet had been exerting all the artificial strength of a regular government for their pay, by coining credit into money, and substituting paper for silver or gold; has thus appeared in truth like a Megæra, covered on the head with a hair of snakes, and armed in the hand with a whip of scorpions, dreadfully tormented in herself, and dreadfully tormenting the nations. But I allude particularly to the commencement of winter in 1794, a period uncommonly gloomy to this kingdom; when the spirit of innovation was wildly afloat among us; when reformation had greedily

. . . . . eaten of the insane root,
Which takes the reason prisoner;

and French republicanism, like an "Até hot from hell," was ranging the continent with terror preceding, or destruction following it. Then it was that I came forward with my "Real Origin of Government." This work, so necessary for the times, so boldly challenging all refutation, and so firmly founded upon the basis of *infallible history*, succeeded beyond my expectations. It became formidable enough, to provoke a *public* reprehension from the *mouths* of the unblushing THERSITES, and the unprincipled CETHEGUS in the late House of Commons. From such persons a man of any firmness of nerve, of any dignity of mind, could have nothing to dread—but their *approbation*; that approbation, which, like lightning, blasted whatever it touched.

It even stimulated their WHIG CLUB, as the centre of all the clubs of Jacobin Whigs in the kingdom, to enter into a formal *denunciation* of me; to proclaim it by the mouth of their rouge-dragon herald, that simple gentleman the late member for Bridport; to put me into the *inquisitorial* hands of *the faction's lawyer*, and (if he could *once more* find scope for turning the *law* against the *constitution*) to commence a prosecution of me, as a writer most "dan-"gerous to their principles or practices."

Nay, even that honest but hood-winked friend to religion, who has so strangely got among them, and of whom therefore we cannot

But wonder how the devil he came there,

the papistical Dr. Plowden; who wildly mixes up his republicanism with his popery, and unites with his spiritual foes for the promotion of his secular purposes; took upon him, from the mere impotence of party-slander, to brand me in his Church and State, 581, 582,

SECTION II.

The Episcopal estates in Cornwall.

The estates transferred to the See of Exeter.

WHEN Edward thus united the episcopates of Cornwall and Devonshire together, he resigned up the Cornish, "with all the parishes, "*lands, manors, goods,* and *benefices*-belonging to it," into the hands of the bishop of Devonshire, now settled at Exeter *. What these were it may seem vain to inquire at this distance of time. But curiosity prompts every lively mind to inquiries, and the attempt frequently terminates in a happy discovery. The manors and benefices thus given, we may be sure, are all that the bishop now possesses in *Cornwall*, and

as he had branded archdeacon Paley and bishop Hurd, in 299, before, for the very sycophants of the ministry; just as he published to retract his slanders against *them* (see errata prefixed), afterwards to introduce himself into *my* house, while I was all unconscious of his charge, there, by artful questions, to find I was as innocent as I was unconscious, and then to beg my pardon for the public calumny by a private letter.

Who would not laugh, if such an one there be!
Who will not weep, since Atticus is he!

While indeed I have one spark of religion in my soul, I can never be *a purveyor of principles* for a minister. I could not, even if I had received particular favours from him, if I entertained a personal friendship for him, or if I could buckle my spirit within the belt of ambitious meanness to him. Still less could I, when I never received the slightest favour, when I never maintained the slightest acquaintance, when my life has been always actuated (I trust) by a proudly virtuous spirit of independency, and when I see in the minister's conduct to Mr. Reeves, how little he feels for his friends, even for his and the nation's best friends; as again I see in his more recent exemption of the Quakers from nearly three fourths of the pressure of the cavalry act, how ready he is to sacrifice principle to policy, and in the predominant cunning of his spirit to court those monied sectaries, even at the hazard of affronting, even with the certainty of injuring, the collective mass of his permanent friends, the clergy and laity of the church of England.

But, while I feel one ray of reason in my intellect, I must be a determined foe to an opposition, the most dangerous in my opinion, as the most flagitious in its views, of any that ever disgraced our history; the *leader* of which, a very CATILINE, wants apparently to erect an empire of anarchy, like the French, upon the ruins of all order, all property, all religion in the isle. The reprehension of such men I shall continue to court, and hope to obtain. Their censure is my pride. Their proscription is my honour. And the feeble lightnings, which their hands can dart at my head, will only play in a glory around it.

* Monasticon, i. 229: "Cum omnibus sibi adjacentibus parochiis, terris, villis, opibus, "beneficiis."

that

that we find *not* to have been given since the Conquest. They were particularly those three *villages*, as bishop Gibson so grossly translates the "tres villas" of his author Camden, or those "three *towns*," as Mr. Gough still more grossly renders the words; or those three *manors*, in the language of law and common sense; which are said to have been formerly possessed by the see of Devonshire ‖. These indeed are asserted by the book of Winton monastery, as referred to by Camden and the old MS. in the Bodleian; to have been given by king Edward the son of Alfred, about the year 905, to —— the bishop of Crediton ‡; at a time when Edward had no possessions in Cornwall, and when therefore he could bestow no manors within it. Yet they were given, says the Winton evidence, and the Oxford concurs with it; "that from "them he might every year make a visitation through the country of "the Cornish, to explain their errors to them, as they previously resisted "the truth with all their power, and were not obedient to the apostolical "decrees §." But, that this notice may no longer impose upon scholars by its authority, let me fully expose its falsehood.

The donation is averred to have been made to the bishop of Crediton, and for *his* episcopal visitations in Cornwall; *the very year* in which one bishop was settled at Crediton, and *another appointed for Cornwall*, by *this very Edward* *. In the year 905, as we have frequently seen from Malmesbury before, Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, "ordained seven bishops for seven churches,—Athelstan *for that of Corn-*

‖ Camden, 138; Gibson, c. 19; Gough, i. 5; and Monasticon, i. 220. So "villis" in note above, and "villa" in Spelman.

‡ Camden, 138: "Edwardus senior sedem—episcopalem constituit, concessitque episcopo Cridiensi tres villas in hôc tractu."

§ Camden, 138: "Ut inde singulis annis visitaret gentem Cornubiensem, ad exprimendos eorum errores; nam antea in quantum potuerunt veritati resistebant, et non decretis apostolicis obediebant." And see Monasticon, i. 220.

* Camden, 138: "Circa annum—salutis 905,—Edwardus senior sedem—episcopalem constituit" in Cornwall, "concessitque episcopo," &c. Monasticon, i. 220: "Anno—DCCCCV—Eadwardus—rex cum suis, et Plegmundus archiepiscopus,—constituêre—vii episcopos vii ecclesiis—, Athelstanum ad ecclesiam Corvinensem,—Eadulfum ad ecclesiam Cridionensem," &c.

"*wall*,

"*wall*,—Eidulph, *for that of Crediton* in Devonshire †." If, therefore, Athelstan became bishop of Cornwall according to Edward's appointment, Edward would certainly give no lands in Cornwall, to promote the visitations of *the bishop of Crediton* in it. *If* Athelstan became *not* bishop, Edward must have had no power in Cornwall to make him such, and consequently could have no power to promote, or to protect, the visits of his Devonshire bishop into Cornwall. With either member of the alternative, the alleged fact cannot be a real one.

But let me urge another argument, still more decisive against it. These manors, notes the Winton MS. which is all Camden's authority, were given to the bishop of Crediton, that he might visit Cornwall *every year*, and explain to the Cornish their errors in some points. This alludes principally to the general practice of the Cornish and *other* Britons, as to the day of observing Easter. The disputes between the Britons and Saxons concerning this, are well known to the public; but the real reason of them is little known. This dispute was not the same with that between Anicetus the bishop of Rome and Polycarp the martyr of Smyrna; Polycarp urging for the observance of Easter with the Jews, upon the fourteenth day of the moon, whether a Sunday or not, and Anicetus pressing to observe it on the Sunday immediately after the fourteenth. This difference was debated between them, in the very temper and spirit of two men worthy to be bishops, with some degree of earnestness, but without the least animosity. Such, however, we could not expect to be the conduct of common bishops, common clergymen, or common Christians. The dispute grew warm afterwards, between the Eastern and the Western churches; *those* alleging the practice of St. Philip and St. John, *these* appealing to that of St. Paul and St. Peter, as transmitted by tradition to them respectively, yet both perhaps very truly. But the great council of Nice, among other points of infinitely greater consequence, attended to this also; settling the dispute for ever in that decisive mode, in which half the disputes of man *must* be settled for the sake of peace, and by which alone such a dispute as this could

† Malmesbury, f. 26: "Anno quo a Nativitate Domini transacti sunt anni nongenti "quatuor,—rex Edwardus—et episcopi—constituerunt—episcopos—, Adelstanum ad [eccle-"siam] Cornubiensem,—Eidulfum ad Cridiensem in Devoniâ."

ever be settled at all, by making the minority yield to the majority, and determining for the Sunday next after the fourteenth day of the moon *. The Britons had always kept their Easter so, and had only to go on in their old course. We have seen it asserted indeed, by a writer of genius and judgment, in that spirit of refining too subtilly upon little incidents in history, which seems to characterize the bolder efforts of *historical* antiquarianism at present, and which is apt, in the ignorance of the antiquary, to lead him wildly astray; that "the most ancient churches "of Britain were founded, in all probability, by Asiatic missionaries;" that "the conformity of their belief and practice in the affair of Easter, "to that which prevailed among the Christians of the East, strengthens "[gives ground to] this opinion;" and that the British churches were founded probably by Polycarp himself, because "the most ancient Bri-"tish Christians—adopted Polycarp's system with regard to Easter," as, "like him, they refused to conform to the custom of the Western "church †." But, in all this, we see the fabulousness of heathenism realized in reasoning, and the whole weight of the heavens rested upon —the back of a man. Or, to speak with a more pointed preciseness to the case, his argument is rested like the real heavens—upon air. The truth is, that the historical fact is entirely the reverse of what is here averred, that the British Christians did *not* conform to the sentiments of Polycarp, but *did* conform to the opinions of his opponent Anicetus. This is decisively attested by the emperor Constantine himself, in an epistle which he wrote upon the subject; because in this he expressly assures us, that "Easter is *used* to be celebrated in *Britain* after *the* "*same manner* as it is at *Rome* ‡." The Britons derived their Christianity, with all their modes of Christian worship, immediately from their masters the Romans. They thus came of course, to keep their Easter in the Roman form. And nothing but a chaos of confusion, generated in the mind by a collision of ideas, between this and a subsequent dispute about Easter, could ever have suggested a thought,

* See Bede, p. 694-696, for a learned and judicious dissertation on the subject, by the editor, Smith.

† Dr. John Macpherson, in his Critical Dissertations, p. 360, 365, 366.

‡ Smith's Dissertation, p. 696: "Disertè—testatur Constantinus, in epistolâ quam de "hâc re scripsit, eodem modo ac Romæ in Britanniâ Pascha celebrari solitum."

of

of composing a world in history from such a forced combination of recoiling atoms *. For a dispute afterwards arose, how the Nicene rule was to be practised, and what was the best cycle of years for regulating the practice. Thus the Britons of Cornwall, of Wales, and of Scotland, observed Easter upon the fourteenth day of the moon, if it was a Sunday, or, if not, upon any other Sunday up to the twenty-first; while other churches observed it, not upon the fourteenth at all, but only upon any Sunday after it up to the twenty-first †. Nor did our British ancestors derive even this variation from any communication with the Christians of the East. They actually derived it from that very cycle of eighty-four years, which *the Romans themselves had used to the days of Leo the Great*; while the Romans had now adopted *the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years*, and communicated it to the Saxons by Augustine ‡. So strangely has the history here been set upon its head! Against this Roman custom in the Britons, the Romish Saxons spoke and wrote. About 710, "Naitan, king of the Picts, inhabiting the "northern regions of Britain," as Bede informs us, "—renounced the "error in which he and his people had hitherto been held, as to the "observance of Easter, and came over himself with all his subjects, to "keep the Catholic time of our Lord's resurrection,—after the example "of the holy, Roman, and apostolical church §." About 705, notes Bede

* Dr. Borlase is one who has confounded this dispute with the subsequent one, when in p. 376, he speaks of that between the Britons and Saxons; but then, as an explanation of it, subjoins in a note the nature of that between the Eastern and Western churches, previously to the council of Nice. Dr. John Macpherson too has so far confounded the two disputes again, as to make the confusion the very groundwork of his historical hypothesis. In p. 366, he observes, that "*the most ancient British Christians*,—in their disputes with *Italian* "*missionaries*, always appealed to the authority of *St. John* and the other *Eastern* di-"vines." The words "Italian missionaries," here coupled with "the most ancient British "Christians," with "St. John," and with "the other Eastern divines," should have roused him effectually from his reverie.

† Smith's Dissertation, p. 697, 698, 699, 698, and 703.

‡ Smith, p. 698, 703, and 701, 702.

§ Bede's Hist. vi. 21: "Eo tempore Naiton, rex Pictorum qui septentrionales Britanniæ "plagas inhabitant,—abrenunciavit errori quo eatenus in observatione Paschæ cum suâ gente "tenebatur, et se suosque omnes ad Catholicum Dominicæ resurrectionis tempus celebran-"dum perduxit,—ad exemplum sanctæ, Romanæ, et apostolicæ ecclesiæ."

also,

also, "Aldhelm, at the command of a synod in West-Saxony, wrote "an excellent book against that error of the Britons, from which—they "celebrate Easter at a wrong time; and *brought over many* of those "Britons who were subject to the western Saxons, by the reading of it, "*to the Catholic celebration of the Lord's Passover* *." Or, as Malmesbury remarks with a fuller attention to the success, because, at a later period of time, when Aldhelm's "book" had had a longer trial among the Cornish, and the effect of its operations could be more conspicuously seen; "the labour of this very holy man could not lose its effect, but rather "*received a glorious conclusion*, and *converted the erroneous to true* "*religion*: even at this day DO THE BRITONS OWE THEIR CORRECTION "TO ALDELM †." So palpably false in fact is that assertion demonstrated to be, which makes king Edward, in 905, to bestow manors in Cornwall upon a bishop, "that from them he might every year make a "visitation through the country of the Cornish, *to explain their errors* "*to them*, as *previously* [and then] *resisting the truth with all their power*, "and *being not obedient to the apostolical decrees*." The convincing work of Adhelm had been addressed to them in a letter to their king, *two centuries before*; had *two centuries before* "brought over many of" them; and *one or two centuries before* had "received a glorious conclu-"sion," in "converting the erroneous to true religion," in making "the Britons" of Cornwall "owe their correction" entirely "to "Aldelm ‡."

Yet

* Bede's Hist. v. 18: "Aldhelm—, jubente synodo suæ gentis, librum egregium adver-"sùs errorem Brittonum, quo—Pascha non suo tempore celebrant,—multosque eorum qui "occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Brittones, ad Catholicam Dominici Paschæ cele-"brationem hujus lectione perduxit."

† Malmesbury, in Gale, i. 349: "Nec potuit privari effectu sanctissimi viri labor, quin "potiùs, laudabilem accipiens finem, ad veram errantes convertit religionem. Debent usque "hodie Britanni correctionem suam Aldelmo."

‡ This was a letter addressed "to Geruntius, king of the Cornubian Britons" (Usher, 478), said by Malmesbury to have been destroyed by the Cornish, "volumen pessundede-"runt" (Gale, i. 349); an assertion utterly incredible in itself, that the Cornish should destroy what had been the very instrument of their conversion; and refuted by positive fact, as the letter exists to this day, "inter Bonifacianas [epistolas] in ordine centesima vigesima "nona"

Three manors granted by Edward the elder.

Yet these manors were actually given to a bishop, and were actually a part of the possessions belonging to the see of St. German's. They were "Polton," and "Cæling," and "Lanwitham." Polton is expressly noticed in Doomsday Book, as then an estate held under the bishopric of Exeter; is even placed at the head of an ecclesiastical deanery, in the Valor of 1292; and is now the great manor of "Polton, alias Pawton," in the parish of St. Breock *. Lanwitham is equally noticed in Doomsday Book, as belonging to the bishop; stands equally the head of a deanery in the Valor, but was then written as it now is Lawhitton, the *n* of *Lan* being suppressed in pronunciation equally as with Lamorran; and remains the property of the bishop at present †. But he who has successfully appropriated both these names, even bishop Gibson, confesses himself all unable to appropriate Cæling ‡. From the similarity of the names, the only evidence that we can have in a case like this, I believe it to be Calling-ton, alias Kelling-ton; alienated from the bishopric before the Conquest, and therefore not included in the lands of it. Two of the three, then, appear decisively to have been the possessions of the Cornish see; and others appear to have been equally such, in this extract from the Doomsday Book for Cornwall:

Polton, Cæling, Lanwitham.

"THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF EXECESTRE.

Episcopal manors at the Domesday Survey.

"THE BISHOP OF EXETER holds TREWEL. In the time of king Ed-
"ward it gelded for one hide and a half. The land is xx carucates. In
"demesne are ii carucates, and iiii servi and xxx villani and iiii bordarii

Trewel.

"nona" (Smith's Bede, p. 702). The letter is also given us in English, by Cressy, 481-483. It turns upon other points, besides the observance of Easter.

Dr. Borlase, 378, supposes the error of the Cornish to have been, "their refusing to ac-
"knowledge the papal authority;" when the very cycle, *for* which the Cornish and other Britons contended, was originally Roman itself; and when, therefore, the only contention *could* be, *for* one cycle Roman *against* another equally Roman. In writing upon such points, our authors are almost sure to shew their protestantism at the expense of their understandings.

* Gibson, c. 19; and Hals, 32, 33.

† Gibson, ibid.

‡ Gibson, ibid. From this difficulty, perhaps, Mr. Hals, 18, has silently changed "Cæling" into "Cuddan-Beake," a manor soon noticed by me.

"with

" with xii carucates. There, is a pasture of ii miles long and ii miles " broad, and lx acres of wood. Formerly and now it was and is worth " iiii pounds §." This I take to be Trewella in the parish of Cury, long since alienated from the see.

" The same bishop holds MATELE. In the time of king Edward matele. " it gelded for i hide, but yet there is one hide and a half. In " demesne is one carucate, and iii servi and xv villani and iiii bordarii " with viii carucates. There, are xl acres of pasture, and lx acres of " underwood. Formerly and now it was and is worth xl shillings. " The market of this manor is held by the earl of Moriton, which the " bishop held in the time of king Edward *." This manor seems to be Methleigh, in the adjoining parish of Breague, mentioned as Methele in the hundred of Kerrier by a record the 12th of Edward I. †. Both this and the other come very early in the endowment of our Cornish bishopric, to shew us the predatory violence of the Normans towards the clergy, as well as the laity, of the Saxons. We see this strikingly exemplified in the church of St. Neot, which was robbed of *all* its lands, *except a single acre,* by the earl, and, to the everlasting disgrace of the earl, is recorded by this very Doomsday Book to have been thus

§ Vol. i. fol. 120.

" TERRA EPISCOPI DE EXECESTRE.

" EPISCOPUS EXONIENSIS tenet TREWEL. T. R. E. geldabat pro i hida et dimidia. " Terra est xx carucatæ. In dominio sunt ii carucatæ, et iiii servi et xxx villani et iiii bor- " darii cum xii carucatis. Ibi pastura ii leucas longa et ii leucas lata, et lx acræ silvæ. " Olim et modo valet iiii libras." See Ingulphus, f. 516, 517, for the proper reading of some of these terms at full length, which are so much abbreviated in the original.—I have not translated here or hereafter, the terms " servi," or " villani," or " bordarii;" because, whatever I may know or think of their respective meanings, happily for our present state of society we have no appropriate terms to convey those meanings to the mind.

* Fol. 120: " Idem episcopus tenet MATELE. T. R. E. geldabat pro i hida, sed tamen " ibi una hida et dimidia. Terra est xv carucatæ. In dominio est i caracuta, et iii servi " et xv villani et iiii bordarii cum viii carucatis. Ibi xl acræ pasturæ, et lx acræ silvæ " minutæ. Olim et modo valet xl solidos. Forum hujus manerii habet comes Moritoniæ, " quod episcopus habebat T. R. E."

† Carew, f. 46.

 robbed

robbed by him ‡. We see it again, in a lesser degree, robbing the bishop of the profits of his market at Matele. Both the injuries are registered in this grand roll of property, and both without any reparation intimated to have been made, or even hinted to be intended. Such an evidence have we here before us, of the oppressiveness of this earl over the Cornish, and of the connivance of the crown at it.

Tregel. "The same bishop holds TREGEL. In the time of king Edward it "gelded for ii hides, but yet there are here xii hides. The land is lx "carucates. In demesne are ii carucates, and vi servi and xviii villani "and xii bordarii with xvi carucates. There, is a pasture half a mile "long and as much broad, a wood i mile long and half an one broad. "Formerly it was worth c shillings, now it is worth viii pounds ‖." This I suppose to be, what is now called Tregella, and lies in the parish of Padstow. But this estate also, like the two before, thus dedicated to spiritual purposes, has since become secularized again; and Tregel has, equally with Matele or Trewel, been degraded from the office of ministering at the altar of GOD, into the service of attending upon the humble board of man.

Pautone. "The same bishop holds PAUTONE. In the time of king Edward it "gelded for viii hides, but yet there are there xliiii hides. The land is "lx carucates. In demesne are iii carucates, and vi servi and xl villani "and xl bordarii with xl carucates. There, is a pasture vi miles long and ii "miles broad, a wood ii miles long and one broad. Formerly it was

‡ F. 121: "Totam hanc terram præter unam acram terræ, quam presbyteri habent, "abstulit comes ab ecclesiâ."

‖ F. 120: "Idem episcopus tenet ~REGEL. T. R. E. geldabat pro ii hidis, sed tamen "sunt ibi xii hidæ. Terra est lx carucatæ. In dominio sunt ii carucatæ, et vi servi et xviii "villani et xii bordarii cum xvi carucatis. Ibi pastura dimidiam leucam longa, et tan- "tundem lata, silva i leucam longa et dimidiam lata. Olim c solidos, modo valet viii "libras." That ~REGEL is a complication or ligature of letters for TREGEL, though TR is used also at times without any ligature or complication; is plain from "Abbatia ~RINITA- "TIS," in fol. 126.

"and

"and now is worth x pounds *." This is the Pawton noticed by me before, under the name of Polton, and called "Polton, alias Pawton," at present; but equally with Tregel, Matele, Trewel, and Cæling, alienated from the bishopric. *This*, however, appears not to have been torn away by the strong hand of sacrilegious power, but to have fairly migrated in the course of exchange, into hands equally spiritual as the bishop's. Thus only could it have been, as it certainly was, annexed to the priory of Bodmin, after the date of Doomsday Book. The prior possessed it, and had a house with a deer-park upon it. The fences of the latter are still apparent, as are also the double walls of the former, upon what is denominated the Barton of Pawton †.

"The same bishop holds BERNERH. In the time of king Edward it Bernerh.
"gelded for one hide with xxiiii pounds. The land is xii carucates. In
"demesne are ii carucates, and vi servi and viii villani and xii bordarii
"with vi carucates. There are lx acres of pasture and x acres of wood.
"Formerly it was and now is worth xl shillings ‡." This manor is Burnear, lying in the parish of St. Minver, and still adhering to the see §.—But I now come to the manor that is very familiar to all my readers, and the very centre of all my large circle. One leg of my compasses being fixed at St. German's, I have turned the other with a sweep over the whole island.

"The same bishop holds the manor which is called THE CHURCH OF St. Germans.
"SAINT GERMAN. There are xxiiii hides. Of these, xii hides belong to

* F. 120: "Idem episcopus tenet PAUTONE. T. R. E. geldabat pro viii hidis, sed "tamen ibi sunt xliiii hidæ. Terra est lx carucatæ. In dominio sunt iii carucatæ, et vi "servi et xl villani et xl bordarii cum xl carucatis. Ibi pastura vi leucas longa et ii leucas "lata, silva ii leucas longa et unam lata. Olim x libras, modo valet."

† Hals, 32.

‡ F. 120: "Idem episcopus tenet BERNERH. T. R. E. geldabat pro i hida p [see the end "of the extracts for this letter or figure] xxiiii libras. Terra est xii carucatæ. In dominio "sunt ii carucatæ, et vi servi et viii villani et xii bordarii cum vi carucatis. Ibi lx acræ "pasturæ, et x acræ silvæ. Olim et modo valet xl solidos."

§ Hals's MS. at the close, and Norden, 71.

"the

" the canons, which never gelded; and the other xii hides belong to the " bishop, and gelded for ii hides in the time of king Edward. In this " the bishop's part, the land is xx carucates. In demesne are ii caru- " cates, and iiii servi and xxx villani and xii bordarii with xvi carucates. " There, is a pasture iiii miles long and ii miles broad, a wood ii miles " long and i mile broad. Formerly it was worth c shillings, now it is " worth viii pounds. In the part belonging to the canons, the land is " xl carucates. In demesne are ii carucates, and ii servi and xxiiii vil- " lani and xx bordarii with xxiiii carucates. There, is a pasture ii miles " broad [long] and i mile broad, a wood iiii miles long and ii broad. " It is worth c shillings to the canons. In this manor is a market on " the Lord's Day, but it is reduced to nothing in favour of the market " of the earl of Moriton, which is very near to it *." We have thus before us a description of the manor of St. German's, that from its earliness and authenticity is of peculiar importance. We see it partitioned, as the manor of the church, equally between the see and the priory. This evenness of distribution shews it to have been made, by one and the same person. Athelstan, therefore, was that person. Athelstan dispensed his royal manor in exact proportions, to his new priory and to the ancient bishopric. In addition to the tithes, and to some glebe probably, possessed by the rector before; he gave half of the manor, because he had cut up the single rector, like a polypus, into no less than nine †. In addition too to the other manors, which had been previously settled upon the see by the munificence of our Cornish kings;

* F. 120: " Idem episcopus tenet manerium quod vocatur æcclesia Sancti Germani. Ibi " sunt xxiiii hidæ. Ex his xii hidæ sunt canonicorum, quæ nunquam geldaverunt; et aliæ " xii hidæ sunt episcopi, et geldabant pro ii hidis T. R. E. In hâc parte episcopi, terra est " xx carucatæ. In dominio sunt ii carucatæ, et iiii servi et xxx villani et xii bordarii cum " xvi carucatis. Ibi pastura iiii leucas longa et ii leucas lata, silva ii leucas longa et unam " leucam lata. Olim c solidos, modo valet viii libras. In parte canonicorum, terra est xl " carucatæ. In dominio sunt ii carucatæ, et ii servi et xxiiii villani et xx bordarii cum xxiiii " carucatis. Ibi pastura ii leucas lata [longa] et unam leucam lata, silva iiii leucas longa " et ii leucas lata. Valet c solidos canonicis. In hoc manerio est mercatum in Die Domi- " nico, sed ad nichilum redigitur pro mercato comitis Moritoniæ, quod ibi est proximum."

† Leland's Coll. i. 75: " S. Germanus in Cornubiâ. Prior. or. S. Aug. octo canon. et " prior."

and

and to some land probably, ranging close about the palace, the gift of that king who first fixed a prelate at this church; he gave the other half of his manor to the prelate, for ever. He thus made them co-partners in the whole; while the whole was denominated the church's manor, as possessed equally by the bishop and by the chapter of it. But their respective halves are fairly defined, and the reciprocal shares decisively ascertained. The chapter's share was worth five pounds a year, at the Conquest; as the bishop's, which had been only five pounds a little before, from some accidental improvements in value, even under the removal of the bishop himself to Exeter, probably from this very removal, as before occupied, and now set out, had risen to eight pounds.

A town indeed had been built upon the manor, and a market had been established within it; a market, to our surprise, held upon a Sunday, so held undoubtedly at first because of the resort of the parishioners to the church, but forming surely a scene of business, a tone of clamour, and a hurry of bustle, very incompatible with the religious recollectedness of the day. Yet this market had not been, as at first we are naturally inclined to suppose it had, the beneficial cause of this improvement in the bishop's lands. The improvement had been very lately made, even while the market had been reduced to nothing. So reduced it was by a new market, which the Norman earl of Cornwall had established in the neighbourhood, and which had drawn off the people from their customary attendance. The new market was settled by the earl, near his castle of Trematon, and on the present site of Saltash there; as this very record notices his "castle," with his "market" at it, the latter producing him annually "three shillings*." Markets were then rare in themselves, having been introduced originally by the Romans, as their Roman appellation testifies †, and then settled only at their stationary towns; yet were as necessary then as they are now. They therefore operated as so many *vortices* upon the country round, forming a strong suction from all the contiguous parts, even extending their influence perceptibly to a considerable distance. Thus a new market, about three

S. Germans Town.

* F. 122: "Ibi habet comes unam castrum, et mercatum reddens iii solidos."

† "Mercatus," from the "mercatura" exercised there.

miles

miles from St. German's, under the patronage of the earl, and with the custom of his family within the castle, could counteract the suction from the market already established, even turn the direction of the waters, and bring them all to flow into its own bosom. What was thus lost by St. German's was gained by Saltash; and the tolls, we see, amounted to "three shillings" a year, a sum that is apt, from its smallness, to raise a smile upon the face of a modern reader, but, considered in union with the value of the whole manor at the time, is not insignificant in itself. The town, therefore, is certainly prior to the Conquest, and almost coæval with Athelstan's church, probably with the erection of the priory, or with the cession of the manor to the prior and the bishop.

Yet the town, like the manor, was divided betwixt the bishop and prior, as it remains divided to the present day: what is now denominated the borough, and was formerly the prior's part, does not extend its limits over the whole, is even confined within narrow bounds, and actually comprehends only about fifty or sixty houses near the church *. Thus did a great part of the town belong to the bishop, as it still belongs to the bishop's lessee; but only the smaller part, the prior's, has always possessed the privilege of a parliamentary borough; not, indeed, according to Mr. Willis's conjecture, obtaining the privilege perhaps from Walter bishop of Exeter in the time of Henry III. †, as then *the bishop's part* would perhaps have been *exclusively* privileged; not, too, according to Mr. Willis's contrary supposition, from the prior's co-operation with the bishop in bestowing the privilege ‡, as then *the two*

* Willis, 147.

† Willis, 148: "The episcopal palace at Cuddenbeak,—a quarter of a mile above the "town,—is stiled in some writings Cuddenbeak borough, a privilege which it might per- "haps obtain from Walter bishop of Exeter, temp. Hen. III. when Penryn seems to have "been made a borough." Mr. Willis must mean by his reasoning all the bishop's part of the town, though in his language he confines himself to the palace alone, a quarter of a mile out of the town.

‡ Willis, 148: "From this example" of Cuddenbeak borough, "the prior, with the "assistance of the bishop, might also so dignify the vill of St. German's."

parts

parts would have shared it *equally;* not even, according to another hypothesis of Mr. Willis, directly contrary to both, in that commonly practised mode of creating such privileges, by ignorantly mistaking the import of the word *borough*, by wildly imagining every borough, as such, to have a right of electing representatives, and by thus exalting many of the civil boroughs of the realm, so diffused over all the face of it, yet so very ancient in themselves, into that merely modern creation of boroughs sending some of their burgesses to parliament §. No! The town appears not to have been ever a civil borough before it became a parliamentary one. Neither the bishop nor the prior, when they certify respectively their claims of liberties or privileges in the 30th of Edward I. and when these were recorded for their security among the pleas of the crown, gave the town any other designation than that of the manor of St. German's ‖, as a part included in the whole, as a part undistinguished from the rest by any burgensic liberties: nor does the town appear under any other than this general appellation, nor does one record hint at its incorporation, nor does one authority whisper a single privilege belonging to it as a town, *before* the very recent reign of—Elizabeth ¶. In the 5th of this queen's reign, and to the parliament of January 1563, it ventured to *choose representatives* for the *first* time. The right was questioned when the act was done; the town was called upon to shew its authority for the act, and then—the whole was passed over in silence. Such was the loose state of this part of our constitution under that imperious sovereign Elizabeth! such particularly was the slack and slight rein which the government, however imperious, then chose to put upon the presumption of towns, in arrogating the right of election to parliament! Nothing appears to have been done, nothing (we may therefore be sure) was done, and the town (with only one interruption,

A Borough in 1563.

§ Willis advances this hypothesis unknown to himself, when he says "the episcopal "palace at Cuddenbeak," and means the episcopal part of the town, "is styled in some "writings Cuddenbeak borough." No part of the town could be called a borough, except as a civil borough, before a year hereafter mentioned; and Mr. Willis's "some writings," so dubiously noticed, are mere nullities in themselves.

‖ Willis, 148.

¶ Willis, 148.

for the parliament immediately succeeding in the 8th of Elizabeth) has continued to elect ever since *. The very same year did St. Mawes presume to exercise the same right, was questioned in the same manner about it, and (with the same interruption for the parliament immediately succeeding) was permitted to exercise it ever afterwards †. *This* indulgence I have attributed before to the influence of the queen, the probable proprieter of the town at the time; but *that* must have been occasioned by a principle very different, as St. German's was certainly not in the crown; and, in all probability, by some compromise made by the royal with the private proprietors. *That* resulted originally, no doubt, from the activity of the Champernoun, who was heir to the first receiver of the priory from king Henry in 1542, and who transferred it over to Richard Eliot, esq. thirty or forty years afterward ‡. Inheriting the bold adventurous spirit of such a receiver, *he* pushed the inhabitants of the town upon that act of presumption; *he* bore them out in it by his compromise probably with the lord steward, then the sole settler of contested elections §; and *he* continued to repeat the unchecked presumption in a third parliament, the 13th of Elizabeth, 1571 ‖. Then came Mr. Eliot, not so late as 1575, *when* Mr. Willis intimates he came, but, what Mr. Willis's own evidences shew, as early as 1571-2; and so became one of the representatives himself in a fourth parliament, that of 1572 ¶. In such an extraordinary manner have two of our Cornish villages been elevated into parliamentary boroughs! For this elevation of St. German's, Champernoun gave it a *mayor* in the first return, and (to cast a deeper shade of antiquity over his own creation) a *port-reve* in the second **, though he betrayed the whole of the imposition by his variation in the title, and the town has had a *port-reve* ever since ††. This officer he made the *jury* of the *manor* to elect in the *court-leet* of the manor at Michaelmas; and all the householders who had lived a twelvemonth in the town, so were competent to serve as jurymen in

* Willis, 146, 147, and Statute Book.
† Willis, 168. ‡ Willis, 143. § Willis, 146. ‖ Willis, 147 and 153.
¶ Willis, 153: " 14 at West. Thomas Ashe, gent. *Richard Eliot, gent.*"
** Willis, 146, 147. †† Willis, 147.

the

the manor-court, he made to elect the representatives ‡. But he carefully confined the privilege of elections to *his own* part of the town, to that which he held in *fee simple* from the grant of the crown and the confirmation of a statute; denying it to the bishop's part, though great in itself §, because he possessed this by a *lease* alone. "The division of "the town into two manors," says Mr. Willis, "—continues at this "day; the bishop's moiety being held by lease of three lives by Edward "Eliot, esq. proprietor also of the other manor, whose predecessors," Champernouns as well as Eliots, "have probably ever since *the dissolu-* "*tion of monasteries,*" and consequently many years before the Eliots came, "been farmers or lessee-tenants to the see of Exeter ‖." We thus account for that concession of an elective franchise to the town, which has never been accounted for before; and they suggest the reason for that confinement of the franchise, which appears so extraordinary in itself, but which refuted the very conjectures hitherto formed for its commencement ¶.

Yet, to pursue the history of the town a little further, the market still continued in it long after the Conquest. In the 30th of Edward I. among the manerial privileges claimed by the bishop and the prior was a market and a fair *; the latter recently kept on the 1st of August, but kept originally on the day of the parish-feast, the day of St. German's death, the 31st of July †; the former not annihilated by the market of

‡ Willis, 147.

§ Willis, 147: "Great part of which [vill of St. German's] is without the borough."

‖ Willis, 143.

¶ *Supposing* Mr. Willis to mean what he mentions, that "the episcopal palace" is "styled in some writings Cuddenbeak borough," and *supposing* his "some writings" to carry any weight with them, then the palace was so called as the borough or castellated house of the bishop: so we have a parliamentary borough now in Shropshire, from the castellated house of the bishop, yet remaining in its ruins, denominated Bishopscastle. But I still believe the "some writings" to be merely an imposition put upon Mr. Willis; such as I well remember to have heard in his lifetime, as often put upon him by men more witty than wise, more jocular than good, mischievously sportive, and malignantly merry.

* Willis, 148.

† Willis, 141.

Saltash, but injured essentially in its tolls, reduced almost to a shadow half a century ago, yet observed no longer upon a Sunday, and now disused entirely. It ceased to be observed upon this day so devoted to religion, in consequence of a general law forbidding any to be kept upon it; a statute of the 27th of Henry VI. 1448, "considering the "abominable injuries and offences done to Almighty GOD, and to his "*saints*, always aiders and singular assisters in our necessities, because "of *fairs* and markets upon their high and principal feasts, as in the "feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the day of Corpus Christi, in "the day of Whitsunday, in Trinity Sunday, with other Sundays, and "also in the high feast of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady, the day "of All Saints, and on Good Friday, accustomably and *miserably* [memo-"rially] holden and used in the realm of England; in which principal "and festival days, for great earthly covetise, the people is *more* will-"ingly vexed, and in bodily labour foiled, *than in other ferial days*, as "in fastening and making their booths and stalls, bearing and carrying, "lifting and placing their wares outward and homeward, as though "they did nothing remember the horrible defiling of their souls, in "buying and selling with many deceitful lies and false perjury, with "drunkenness and strifes, and so specially withdrawing themselves and "their servants from divine service‡." The market thus appears to have been kept from the time of Athelstan to the reign of the sixth Henry, through a period of five hundred years, upon a Sunday. Then the nation seemed to awake into a general feeling of propriety upon the point, prohibited all markets for the future upon a Sunday, and even in the keenness of a new sensation extended the prohibition, not merely to Good Friday, which we still observe with religious reverence, and must observe while we continue to be Christians, but to Ascension-day, which we honour only by particular offices in public worship; to the day of All Saints, which we consider merely as a common holyday; to the day of the Virgin Mary's Assumption, and to the day of Corpus Christi, both which we have long ceased to observe at all. It even, in its

‡ Cap. v. The law accordingly orders, that "all manner of fairs and markets in the *said* "principal feasts and Sundays and Good Friday, shall clearly cease."

new

new zeal, adduced reasons against the keeping of markets, and the observance of *fairs*, those greater markets as merely annual upon *such* days, which would be equally forcible against the observance and keeping upon *any*. The people, says the law, "did nothing remember the horrible defiling of their souls, in buying and selling with many deceitful lies and false perjury, with drunkenness and strifes," practices criminal upon any days. But, amidst such intemperance, the statute very soberly and sensibly rests its own prohibition upon this; that on such days "the people is *more* willingly vexed, and in bodily labour foiled, "*than in other ferial*" or holy "days," as gaining by the markets on Sundays one day more in the week for their secular attentions, "in "fastening and making [fast]* their booths and stalls, bearing and carrying, lifting and placing, their wares outward and homeward;" and that "so" they were "*specially* withdrawing themselves and their "servants from divine service" on Sunday.

"As to a description of this *borough*," adds Mr. Willis, concerning what he ought to have denominated the *town*, as he means *both* the parts of it, the burgensic and the extra-burgensic, both "called in "Carew 'the Church-town'," a popular appellation in Cornwall for any group of houses near the church; "'it mustereth'," as that author tells us, "'sundry ruins but little wealth, occasioned (as some con-"ceive) by abandoning their fishing-trade, or (as the greater sort ima-"gine) by their being deserted by the religious';" for "its chief support "was certainly heretofore the priory; the houses being very meanly "built, and irregular, and situate on an uneven rock, affording no "tolerable reception for travellers, or people who come to the market to "which this town pretends a title;" pretends one too from a higher antiquity, and upon a more substantial authority than most of the market-towns in the kingdom; "and has *a small pedling one on Fridays*, "*almost unfrequented*. The little trade it drives is by fishing in Tiddi-

* This is the old and popular sense of the word *make*; in Lancashire to this day all ranks of natives *make* doors, *make* windows, by shutting them: so in Leland's Itin. iii. 36, "a "warfe to *make* shippes by."

"ford

"ford river, which" a little below the priory terminates in the Liner, as the Liner "about ten [five] miles downwards empties itself into" the Tamar, then on its speedy entrance within "the harbour of Plymouth;" the Tiddiford river "washing the lower parts of the town" of St. German's, according to Mr. Willis, but in fact running at a little distance from every part, and washing only the lands of the priory, or the site of Cuddenbeak †. This tone of lamentation over the town of St. German's, so natural to an antiquary when *he does not think*, when he only *feels*, and when in that feeling he reflects only on the dissolution of the priory, has been echoed from one writer to another, till it has been taken at last for the very voice of truth. The first note was set by Leland in this account: "S. Germane's is but a poore fischar town, the "glory of it stood by the priory ‡." But Leland had a reason for the note, which none of the repeaters have had since; the expulsion of the clergy from the priory, *and* the non-substitution of the Eliots in their room. Since this family has resided in the priory, the town has had no cause to deplore the absence of its clergy; the rents of the priory-lands, the rents of the bishops, and the rents of various estates beside, have been all expended at the town: much more has therefore been laid out there by the secular prior than could have been by the regular. The trade of fishing, indeed, which might be encouraged by the fasts of the clergy upon fish, yet was equally encouraged by the fish-fasts, enjoined in special laws upon all for a long time after the Reformation, cannot be supposed to have declined while the encouragement was continued; and, in fact, is falsely asserted by Carew before to have been "aban-"doned" in his time, either in 1586, when he was writing his work, or in 1602, when he published it §. "In the church-towne," says Norden in 1584, "are *manie* inhabitantes, but (as it seemeth) noe greate "riches; it hath bene *farr more populous*," a declaration supported by no proof, opposed by every testimony, and encountered by every probability; "but the decaye hath growne by 3 severall meanes; firste, "by the discontinuance of the bushopes sea," a discontinuance *even*

† Willis, 148, 149; and Carew, 109.

‡ Leland's Itin. iii. 40.

§ Life of Carew prefixed, xvii. and xx.

then near five centuries and a half before, when the town could have had no importance to lose; "—the seconde, the subpressing of the "pryorie, which was a meane to drawe inhabitantes," but a much stronger than which has surely been furnished by the residence of the Eliots here; "and lastly, by their own neglecte of the commodious "trade of fishinge*." Here the "abandoned" trade of Carew is only the "neglected" of Norden, and in reality was not either neglected or abandoned then. Camden, who first published in 1586, after more than ten years of travels†; who republished in 1590, 1594, 1607; who had seen Carew's remarks in manuscript before his first publication‡, and had even seen them in print before his last§, continues in all his three last editions to affirm the actual prosecution of the fishery, yet to expose the poor appearance of the town. "At the village of St. Ger-"man's," he tells us, "—is a small church dedicated to St. German of "Auxerre, in which sat a very few bishops;—I say the village of St. "German's, *for* there is nothing else there at present but the cottages "of fishermen, who carry on a pretty extensive fishery in the ocean "and in the adjoining rivers‖." The fishery, we see, was then prose-cuted

* Norden, 93. From Carew, 109, has Norden copied this folly, prudently omitting some strokes in it. Ascribing the supposed declension of the town to the expulsion of "the religious people," Carew thus subjoins; "for, in former times, the bishop of Corn-"wall's see was from St. Petrock's in Bodmyn remooved hither, as from hence, when the "Cornish dioces united with Devon, it passed to Crediton," an assertion against fact, as we have seen before, "and lastly from thence to Excester; but this first losse receyved re-"liefe through a succeeding priory," as if the priory begun after the bishopric had been removed. Such a mere gossipper in antiquarianism is this celebrated antiquary! in the infancy of antiquarianism among us, even such a petty narrator of impertinences could gain celebrity, *si dis placet*, as an antiquary.

† Gibson's Life of Camden prefixed to his Camden.

‡ Carew's Life prefixed to his work, xvii.

§ In 1590, p. 126: "Hæc planiùs et meliùs *docebit* Richardus Carew de Anthonie,—"qui hujus regionis descriptionem latiore specie, et non ad tenue, *elimat*." So equally in 1586. (Carew's Life, xvii.) In 1594, p. 131, as before, but with this addition, "quem-"que mihi præluxisse non possum non agnoscere." But in 1607, p. 143, "docuit" and "elimavit."

‖ In 1590, p. 122: "Ad S. German's—ædicula S. Germano Autissiodorensi sacra, in "quâ

cuted so much with all its original vigour, that the town was "nothing "else—but the cottages of fishermen." It was thus also "a pretty ex- "tensive fishery," not confined to Tiddiford river, not even keeping itself within the Liner or the Tamar, but pushing out into "the ocean:" yet the town, which was "poore" in Leland's time, consisted only of "cottages" in Camden's, and was merely "a village" therefore. The town thus appears in full possession of all its fishery, and in full enjoyment of all its opulence at that time; yet both had sunk away before the days of Mr. Willis, as "the little trade it drives," he remarks, "is "by fishing in Tiddiford river." Nor must we suppose, in the fashionable strain of refining against the very evidence of facts, that what was "pretty extensive" in the estimate of Camden, was merely "little" in the ideas of Mr. Willis, from the rising scale of trade in the whole island since the days of Camden. The fishery was apparently decaying in the time of Mr. Willis, shrinking back from "the ocean" and "the adjoin- "ing rivers," so confining itself to its own current: even there is it now discontinued. But tradition still speaks of it in a tone similar to Camden's, as a fishery either principally or solely for *pilchards*, consequently out upon the sea, though merely for a short season. Yet the shoals of these annual migrants from the south-western depths of the Atlantic to the coasts of Bretagné and Cornwall, for the food that they find along them, which, when caught, used to be preserved by smoking, which were therefore denominated *fumadoes* by the Italians, to whom then, as now, we principally sold them, and which are still denominated *fumades* by the very populace of Cornwall, even when they are

"quâ cùm pauculi sedissent episcopi," &c. "hunc Germani viculum—; nihil enim aliud "hodie est, quàm piscatorum viculus, qui satis copiosam exercent piscaturam in vicino "oceano, Livero flumine præterfluente, et Tamara qui regionis est terminus." In 1594, p. 126, the only variation is "piscatorum *Casulæ*" and "et proximis fluminibus," the Liner being previously mentioned thus: "Liverum fluviolum—qui subluit S. Germans viculum." In 1607, all is just as in 1594.—"Ædicula" in Camden here is translated by bishop Gibson, c. 21, "a little religious house," and by Mr. Gough, i. 6, "a small religious "house," they fancying it meant the *priory*, when it actually means the *church*, and when the words "in quâ cùm pauculi sedissent episcopi," shew demonstratively it means so. But Gibson had made the mistake, and Mr. Gough had not power to correct it.

now

now preserved by pressing, had long ceased to range so high up the channel as St. German's, stopped their migration generally about Fowey, and so threw the whole fishery into the hands of the *western* Cornish*. This was the case within these few years, when a new movement was made in a government *almost* as revolutionary as the French republic's, and the pilchards began to range as high as ever up the channel, even up to Cawsand Bay, at the farthest extremity of Cornwall on the east. Yet even then the fishery was prosecuted, not in the bold mode in which it appears from Camden to have been prosecuted at St. German's formerly, and is prosecuted by the western Cornish at present, by taking the fish *out at sea*, but by managing a pilchard-seine as timidly as a ground-seine, dropping it in a kind of half-moon along the waters of the beach, and then by a rope at each end hauling the fish on shore; nor is it more than twenty-five years ago that the Cawsand fishers were obliged to procure nets, boats, and men from Veryan upon our own coast, for carrying on the fishery in the true manner again. The town of St. German's, then, was always little and petty in itself, even when its fishery was at the height; nor has either it or its fishery been affected at all by the alienation of its priory-lands to a secular family †, however it may be hereafter by the desertion of the site in summer for some water-drinking place, or by the exchange of its solitude in winter for the noise and amusements of London.

The only alienation which could affect either the town or the parish was one of a very different nature, one of a spiritual quality, one there-

* Gough's Camden, i. 10.

† "The marchantes that do deale in this comoditie" of pilchards, "as doe divers Lon-"doners, vent them in sundrie places. In *Fraunc* they utter their *pickled* pilchardes," now not known but in domestic use, "and suche as they pack in hogsheades and other caske, "*wher* they are receyved as a verie welcome reliefe to the sea-coaste of that kingdome, and "from the coaste revented to their great profit in the inland townes." All this trade into France is now gone. "The *dryed* ware they carrye into Spayne, Italie, Venice, and *divers* "*places within the Straytes*, where they are very vendible, and in those partes tooke name "*fumados*, for that they are dryed in the smoake" (Norden, 23): then they were principally vended, as now, in Italy—the name of *fumados* shews this.

fore too fine for the gross eyes of the generality, and never noticed by any of these authors, the diversion of the *tithes* from the maintenance of a clerical college *here*, to the support of another *at a great distance*; and the consequent deficiency of a competent maintenance for *him* who is *now* to take the charge of the parish. "The advowson of this paro-"chial church," says Mr. Willis, "—together with the rectory or im-"propriation, late the possessions of the priory—, valued at 61*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* "per annum, were granted by king Edward VI. to the dean and chap-"ter of Windsor, in whose hands they now continue ‡." When the lands of the priory were given away to Mr. Champernoun, the tithes of the rectory were reserved, with some view probably of doing that which common justice and common sense demanded, of restoring them to the church to which, in the person of the rector, they had belonged before the days of Athelstan, and with which they still rested in the appropriation of them to a college of clergy at it. Had Henry acted up to this view he would have done credit to his name, and blotted out one of the many enormities of sacrilege that now stand recorded in black characters against him on the doomsday book of history. But selfishness is a principle ever active in the heart of man; while the fear of sacrilege operates slowly within it, is examined cautiously by the reason, to see if there is no possibility in the wide regions of casuistry to escape from it, and is reluctantly admitted at last to exercise its office among us. Henry thus died with the tithes in his grasp, and sunk into the grave one of the first of human sinners, loaded with an accumulation of iniquities, each of which was sufficient to press a single head into perdition. The tithes, however, were resigned up by Edward, a young prince, whose principles were religious in themselves, yet whose understanding had not time, even if it had power, to unfold itself in worthy exertions; and whose understanding, whose principles were generally perverted by the ministers about him, all birds of ravage feathered under the wings of Henry, all ready, with an eagle's swiftness, to fly upon the exposed body of the church; all eager, with a vulture's violence, to rend it in pieces as their prey. Edward, however, resigned them

‡ Willis, 152, 153.

up,

up, not to their original and true proprietor, the church of St. German's, but to a clerical corporation at one of the king's own palaces. Thus the church, deprived of its college of clergy, with its half of the manor by the dissolution before, had now all the endowment of the rectory torn away from it for ever, and was turned out totally naked to the weather. While an ample income and an ample house were originally provided for its rector or its college, no income, no house remained for the curate. He has only a stipend at present, scanty in itself, yet even constituted chiefly by the mere fees of his personal offices; and only a house bequeathed him lately by accidental benevolence, but unfit from its poorness to admit the residence of any gentleman within it.

Lanherwey.

"The same bishop holds LANHERWEY. In the time of king Henry "it gelded for i hide, but yet there are iii hides there; the land is x "carucates; in demesne is i carucate, and iiii servi and viii villani and "vi bordarii with iii carucates. There, is a pasture ii miles long and "one mile broad: formerly it was worth c shillings, now it is worth "l shillings. Fulcard holds it under the bishop*." In the parish of St. Allen near Truro, was formerly a chapel dedicated, like the old church of the Romans at Canterbury, and like another of theirs at Whitern in Galloway, to the honour of St. Martin, yet still preserved in memory by the names of St. Martin's fields, St. Martin's woods there. Local appellations are the common property of a whole neighbourhood, so become frequently unalienable by any length of time, and still continue steadily faithful to their original places, when even records have deserted them for ages. A house at it is denominated Lanher, in which, says Hals, "the bishops of Cornwall, and afterward the bishops "of Exon, had one of their mansions or dwelling-houses for many ages;" even "till bishop Voysey, temp. Hen. VIII." constrained by that violence in the tyrant-father which the tyrant-daughter repeated when she

* Fol. 120: "Idem episcopus tenet LANHERWEY. T. R. E. geldabat pro i hida, sed "tamen sunt ibi iii hidæ. Terra est x carucatæ. In dominio est i carucata, et iiii servi et "viii villani et vi bordarii cum iii carucatis. Ibi pastura ii leucas longa et unam leucam "lata. Olim c solidos, modo valet l solidos. Fulcardus tenet de episcopo."

swore in a letter to *unfrock* a bishop if he refused, "leased these manors "[this manor] to Clement Throckmorton, esq. *cupbearer to queen* "*Catharine Parre*, from whom it passed by sale to Williams, and so "from Williams to Borlase, by whom this manor or barton of Laner "was left to run to utter ruin and dilapidation, having now nothing "extant of houses but old walls, stones, and rubbish †." Yet the name has no relation to the chapel, as Hals states it to have; saying, "Laner "or Lanher, i. e. Templer," was "so called, for that long before that "time," the Conquest, "was extant upon that place a chapel or temple "dedicated to God *." This he infers from the initial syllable of the name Lan, which ordinarily signifies a church, but originally signified only the churchyard, as it still signifies any enclosure in Yd-lan (W.), a rick-yard,; Per-llan (W.), an orchard; Gwin-llan (W.), a vineyard; Cor-lan (W.), a sheep-fold; or Corph-lan (W.), a churchyard, because a burying-place; as it still signifies in many of the local appellations of Cornwall, Lan-dew within Lezant parish, or Lan-leake within St. Petherwyn; and, as it signified from the very first ages, in Medio-lanum, Croco-lana, Uro-laniumy, or Veru-lam, the names of military enclosures within Britain and *Gallia* Italy. The name therefore is derived from another circumstance, and took its rise before the manor was ceded to the see, before the church of St. Martin was erected by the bishop as a chapel to his house. Lanher, notes Hals himself, was "formerly in a wood or forest of trees ‡," and the name testifies to the fact. Lann-erch (W.) is a yard to a house, a void place, a green, a bare open place in a wood; Lanherch (C.) is equally a bare place in a wood, but thence ascends to import a wood itself, it standing in common acceptation at present for a grove or a forest §; and in *this* acceptation it is used here, Lanher-wen being merely Lanherc Guew, and referring to the first plain field that was made in the wood here ‖.

"Richard

† Hals, 4. * Hals, 4. ‡ Hals, 4. § Pryce and Richards.

‖ "Gew," says Pryce, "*stay, support*—. On many estates, especially in the west, "one of the best fields is called the *gews*; probably from hence, as being the stay and support of the estate." This is a striking instance how unfortunate Pryce was in not adopting all

"Richard holds under the bishop THINTEN. In the time of king "Edward it gelded for half a hide. Yet there is i [whole] hide there. "The land is xl carucates. In demesne is a carucate and a half, with i "servus and v villani and ii bordarii with iii carucates and i acre of wood. "Formerly it was and now is worth xxv shillings ‡." This I take to be the manor of Tinten in the parish of St. Tady, which was held by a family of the same appellation, in the 17th of Edward II. and in the 3d of Henry IV. *; but which has been long torn from the see. Thinten.

"The bishop himself holds LANGVITETONE. In the time of king "Edward it gelded for iiii hides, yet there are xi hides there. The land "is xl carucates. In demesne are ii carucates, and vii servi and xxvii "villani and xx bordarii with xxix carucates. There, are viii acres of "meadow and c acres of pasture and x acres of underwood. Formerly "it was worth viii pounds, now it is worth xvii pounds †." This is the manor of Lawhitton, written Lanwitham before, and here written correspondently Langvitetone; originally, therefore, Lan-whitton, and Langvitetone.

all the words of Borlase's Vocabulary. There he would have found this very word, in its true orthography, and in its genuine signification, "Guew, *a plain field.*" A field in my own parish is denominated the Guew. And "from Agnes," one of the Sylley Isles, says Borlase, 39, 40, "we came across a bar of sand,—till we got to the *Guêw*, a part of Agnes, "and never divided from it but by high and boisterous tides: here, on a *plain*, we found a "large stone erect—, but at present there is neither corn nor field, this *Guêw* (in Cornish "signifying a plain field) serving only as a croft or coarse common to Agnes." Hence we see plainly, *why* "on many estates;" not "especially in the west," but equally in the east, "one of the best fields is called," not "the Gews," but the Gew; not as being "the stay and support of the estate," an etymology singularly harsh and violent! but as a *plain* amid the *hills* of Cornwall, and *therefore* "one of the best fields" upon an estate.

‡ F. 120: "Richardus tenet de episcopo THINTEN. T. R. E. geldabat pro dimidia "hida. Ibi tamen est i hida. Terra est vi carucatæ. In dominio est carucata et dimidia, "cum i servo et v villanis et ii bordariis cum ii carucatis et i acra silvæ. Olim et modo "valet xxv solidos."

* Tonkin's MS.

† F. 120: "Ipse episcopus tenet LANGVITETONE. T. R. E. geldabat pro iiii hidis, ibi "tamen sunt xi hidæ. Terra est xl carucatæ. In dominio sunt ii carucatæ, et vii servi et "xxvii villani et xx bordarii cum xxix carucatis. Ibi viii acræ prati et c acræ pasturæ et x "acræ silvæ minutæ. Olim viii libras, modo valet xvii libras."

now

now vitiated into Lawhitton, by that elision in speaking which I have previously noticed.

Landicle. "Rolland holds under the bishop LANDICLE. In the time of king Edward it gelded for i hide, yet there is i hide and a half there. The land is xii carucates. In demesne is i carucate, and iii servi and xiii villani and iiii bordarii with iii carucates. There, are ii acres of meadow, and a pasture ii miles long and one mile broad. Formerly it was and now is worth iii pounds ‡." This I apprehend to be that manor of Landegey, in the parish of Kea, near Truro, upon which the church was originally built, and from which, therefore, it carries the appellation of Landelegh, or Landegh, in the Valor of 1292, and of which, with the patronage of the living, the bishop is still possessed §.

Sanwinuec. "Godefrid holds under the bishop SANWINUEC. In the time of king Edward it gelded for i hide. The land is v carucates. In demesne is i carucate, and ii servi and v villani and vi bordarii with ii carucates. There, is a pasture half a mile long and as much broad, a wood half a mile long and one quarter broad. Formerly it was worth xl shillings, now it is worth xx shillings ‖." This is apparently the manor of St. Wynnow, originally (we see) belonging to the bishop, but even at the Conquest held only under him, with a reservation of rent, merely half as much as the manor used to pay, merely twenty shillings when it used to pay forty, and, from the same power of violence that took it out of the bishop's own possession, never raisable afterwards. The manor was

‡ F. 120: "Rollandus tenet de episcopo LANDICLE. T. R. E. geldabat pro i hida, ibi tamen est i hida et dimidia. Terra est xii carucatæ. In dominio est i carucata, et iii servi et xiii villani et iiii bordarii cum iii carucatis. Ibi ii acræ prati, et pastura ii leucas longa et unam leucam lata. Olim et modo valet iii libras."

§ Tonkin's MS. an inquisition, 5 Car.: "The manor of Landegey and Laner cum pertineutiis in paroch. de St. Key et alibi," &c. In the Valor of 1292, the church appears called "Landelegh," or "Landegh."

‖ F. 120: "Godefridus tenet de episcopo SANWINUEC. T. R. E. geldabat pro i hida. Terra est vi carucatæ. In dominio est i carucata, et ii servi et v villani et vi bordarii cum ii carucatis. Ibi pastura dimidiam leucam longa et tantundem lata, silva dimidiam leucam longa et unam quadrantem lata. Olim xl solidos, modo valet xx solidos."

then

then possessed by a family, that from it adopted the appellation of *De San. Wynnoko.* Thus Philip de San. Wynnoko was one of those who are specified in the 25th of Edward I. as holding twenty pounds or more a year in lands and rents within this county *. Leland calls "S. "Winnous an abbate chirch," as appropriated to the abbey of St. Peter's in Exeter, now to the dean and chapter there; then adds, that "by the—chireh of old tyme inhabitid a gentilman, Joannes de S. "Wynnoco;" and finally subjoins, that there "is much good wood at "S. Ginoke's †." The manor, the church, and the parish, derive their common appellation from a saint of Bretagné, who, about 582, went into France, then a distinct kingdom, and into that part of Flanders which is now incorporated into France equally with Bretagné; established a monastery in the latter, at a place near Dunkirk, since denominated Berg St. Vinoc; and was adopted as a saint by the Cornish as well as by the Flemings ‡.—But we now return to St. German's again.

"From THE CHURCH OF SAINT GERMAN has been taken away i hide "of land, which paid by custom *one cup of ale* and xxx pence, in the "time of king Edward, to the same church §." This is one of those jocular tenures that make such a figure in an antiquary's view of our tenures, and exhibit the manners of our ancestors in a peculiar light; naturally grave in themselves, hardly ever sallying out into the vivacity of humour, yet even then sallying only amid the formalities of law, and in the cessions of property. But, what distinguishes this very strongly from the rest, it is certainly prior to most of them, probably prior to all, and confessedly Saxon in itself. "From the same church has been "taken away i acre of land, and it is the land of one carucate. From "the same church has been taken i virgate of land. Perlin [held all

Land taken from S. Germans.

* Carew, 52.

† Leland's Itin. iii. 36.

‡ Usher, 533, &c. and Leland's Itin. iii. 61: "Ex Vitâ S. Winnoci. 'Quadanocus, "Ingenocus, Madocus, et *Wenocus*, Britones, monachi in Sithui monasterio, cui præerat "Bertinus'."

§ F. 120: "De æcclesiâ S. Germani ablata est i hida terræ, quæ reddebat per consuetu- "dinem unam cupam cervisæ et xxx denarios T. R. E. eidem æcclesiæ."

"three

"three] under the earl of Moriton. These were in the time of king "Edward, within the demesne of the same church. Now Rainald and "Hame hold them." This completes the picture of Norman oppressiveness in Cornwall. In the insolence of a new-acquired sovereignty over the country, and in the exorbitance of unprincipled passions over the heart of the earl, he had laid his hands upon the very patrimony of the church, robbed the very GOD at whose altars he bowed, and defied the very thunders at which he shuddered. Such is the peculiar stupidity of sacrilege *.

But the record closes its whole account in this retrospective and comprehensive manner: "ALL THESE LANDS were held by bishop Leofric, "in the time of king Edward †."

We thus survey the list of those manors, which belonged to the bishop of Exeter before the Conquest, and were actually held by that

* "F. 120: "De eadem æcclesia est ablata i acra terræ, et est terra i carucatæ." How "i acre of land" *could* be "the land of i carucate," will naturally puzzle my reader to ascertain. But the passage proves an acre in Doomsday Book, *occasionally* to be an acre in name only, and much larger than an acre in reality. Here an acre is declared equivalent to a carucate. But the very declaration shews it *not* to be so, ordinarily in the record. Here, and here only, as we have the declaration no where else in Cornwall; does the record adopt the Cornish largeness of measure, for an acre. "Every ancient Cornish acre," Hals observes in p. 159, is "*sixty* statute-acres of land." But Carew, 36, says, "commonly "thirty acres make a farthing land, *nine* farthings," or two hundred and seventy statute-acres, "a Cornish acre." And "in the register of Lacy, bishop of Exeter, A. D. 1420, "the Cornish acre" is found far below Carew's account, though much above Hals's, *even as it is found in Doomsday Book*; appearing to have "contained *four* ferlings, alias far-"things, each ferling consisting of thirty acres, statute-measure," and each Cornish acre, therefore, "containing—*one hundred and twenty* statute-acres" (Borlase's Nat. Hist. 319), the very amount of a carucate. "De eadem æcclesia est ablata i virgata terræ. *p*linus "[tenuit] de comite Moritoniæ." What does this figure or letter mean, *p*? We had it before under Bernerh, thus, "geldabat pro i hida *p* xxiiii libras," where it obviously means *per*; and we have it here again, where I therefore suppose it to mean *per* again, forming the first syllable of the personal name, so leaving the second to begin without a capital letter. "Hæ erant T. R. E. in dominio ejusdem æcclesiæ, modo tenent "Rainaldus et Hame."

† F. 120: "OMNES HAS TERRAS tenuit Levric episcopus T. R. E."

very Leofric the bishop, who transferred his see of St. German's with all its possessions to Exeter. They therefore were plainly the possessions of his Cornish see. He particularly held the manor of St. German's, and the lands of the priory were in his manor; as being noticed under "the land of the bishop of Excestre." But while we thus behold the first bishop of Exeter possessing the manor of St. German's, with a variety of other manors, as bishop equally of Exeter *and St. German's*, we find him *not* possessing a single manor, as *bishop* equally *of Bodmin* too. The property of the church of Bodmin is exhibited in the same form as that of the bishop of Exeter, but as totally distinct from it. "THE CHURCH OF SAINT PETROC," says the record, "holds BODMINE. "There, is i hide of land which never gelded. The land is iiii carucates. "There v villani have ii carucates with vi bordarii. There, are xxx "acres of pasture and vi acres of underwood. There S. Petroc has lxviii "houses and one market. The whole is worth xxv shillings*." Not a single house in the town, not a single acre in the manor, does Leofric hold at the very manor and town, from which he derived one half of his double title as the prelate of Cornwall, and in which his predecessors have been hitherto believed to have had their sole seat originally. At St. German's he possesses the whole manor, at Bodmin he possesses not a particle of it. At St. German's he shares the very extensive land within the manor, equally with the canons of the church; at Bodmin he has no share with the church at all. At St. German's he has a regular demesne of ii carucates, with iiii servi and xxx villani and xii bordarii upon xvi carucates besides; but at Bodmin he has no demesne, no servus, no villanus, no bordarius, and no carucate. In St. German's he appears at home, at his see, at his palace; but in Bodmin he appears without a palace, without a see, without a home. I dwell the more circumstantially upon the point, because it has never been observed before, because it is the result too of all that I have previously remarked, and finally

The Bishops had no property at Bodmin.

* F. 120: "ECCLESIA S. PETROC tenet BODMINE. Ibi est i hida terræ quæ nunquam "geldavit. Terra est iiii carucatæ. Ibi v villani habent ii carucatas cum vi bordariis. Ibi "xxx acræ pasturæ et vi acræ silvæ minutæ. Ibi habet S. Petroc lxviii domus et unum "mercatum. Totum valet xxv solidos."

 confirms

confirms the whole. The see of Bodmin, we now behold decisively in the mirror of Doomsday Book, was *not* the *original* see of Cornwall, was *never* the *sole* seat of the bishop, was *never* the *real* seat at all; and *at last*, when it was associated with St. German's, became only the nominal, the titular, the conjunctive see of Leofric. Nor had Leofric one more inch of ground there for the endowment of his bishopric, than he had at any of the other churches in his diocese.

In a seeming opposition indeed to this plain truth, "the manors of "Cargoll and Ryalton" have been said to be "given by our earls of "Cornwal before the Norman conquest, to the *bishop* of *Bodman* or "*Cornwal*, or the prior thereof*;" Lanher, in St. Allen parish, is declared to be "the capital messuage of *the bishop of Exon's manor* of "*Cargoll*, whereunto it is annexed†;" and "the great lordship and "manor of Ryalton, heretofore pertaining to the prior of Bodman," is declared to be "*held* of *the bishop of Exon's manor* of *Penryn*, and *pays* "*yearly* 10*l*. *high-rent to the same*; from whence I gather," notes an author, "that *formerly both pertained to the bishopric of Cornwall*, "afterwards concerted into Kirton and Exeter," *with* Kirton *into* Exeter‡. That all this, as an intimation of the endowment of our Cornish see previously to the Conquest, is absolutely false; we know from the roll of Doomsday itself. There *Cargau*, there *Ryelton* are expressly specified, *not* as the manors of the bishopric of Exeter, *but* as entirely distinct from them, as exclusively the manors of Bodmin priory. "The church itself [of St. Petroc] holds RIELTONE," but "the earl of "Moriton—holds under S. Petroc CARGAU§." Ryalton appears from its name, to have been a house belonging to the king of Cornwall; claims accordingly a jurisdiction over the whole hundred of Pyder; has also a strong prison still attached to its ancient royalty; and shews a mansion-house, much beautified as well as enlarged, almost indeed re-

* Hals, 74. † Hals, 4. ‡ Hals, 68.

§ F. 120: "Ipsa æcclesia tenet RIELTONE—; comes Moritoniæ—tenet de S. Petroc "CARGAU."

built, by that prior of Bodmin, Vivian, who died in 1533 ‖. Yet this very manor, so plainly annexed to the priory, pays 10*l.* yearly (it seems) to the bishop's manor of Penryn. But it evidently *paid nothing* at the *Conquest*. It was not held *then*, either mediately or immediately under the bishop. It was held by the very prior himself. This we see at a glance, when we consult Doomsday Book, when we behold Ryalton possessed by the priory, and find no payment accruing from it to the bishopric. Doomsday Book indeed draws a strong broad line of distinction for us, between the ages antecedent and the centuries subsequent to it. Adhering to this line, we are not bewildered in the mazes of shifting property, but walk steadily with the clue in our hand through all the windings, and reach the termination of the whole securely. We particularly see the lands of the priory of Bodmin, and the lands of the bishopric of Cornwall, as distinct as the persons of the bishop and the prior; the bishop not having one atom of property in the lands of the priory, at Bodmin, at Cargoll, at Ryalton, or at any of its manors; yet possessing a manor at St. German's, sharing the lands of it in an even proportion with the canons of St. German's priory, enjoying even a part of his share as the demesne of his palace, and even cultivating it by his servi, his villani, his bordarii. At St. German's the bishop was demonstrably an inmate, at Bodmin he was absolutely an alien; and *legal evidence is now superadded to historical* ¶.

‖ Hals, 68, 69, 20.

¶ Leland de Script. Brit. 61, says thus, as I have already noted *in part*, under i. 4: "Comes Moridunensis et Corinianus, frater uterinus Gulielmi Primi, regis Angliæ, *fanum* "*Petroci prædiis spoliavit omnibus*; Algarus nobilis, et Gulielmus *Guarvestius* episcopus "Iscanus, *fundos—solicitè in jus pristinum reduxerunt.*" But that this is all a slander upon the earl of Mortaigne, Doomsday Book proclaims with a loud trumpet; reciting all the lands of Bodmin priory, as still to an atom nearly attached to it. Yet "Leland informs us," we are told by an author equally ingenious and judicious, but borne down by a testimony so weighty in itself, "that he seized—on *all* the lands belonging to the monastery of St. Petroc "in Bodmyn; the *restitution of which*, Algar, a nobleman, and Gulielmus *Guarvestius*, "bishop of Exeter, afterwards *procured.*" (Some Account, p. 3.) Algar only rebuilt the church (Hals, 19); and "William *Warlewist*, bishop of Excestre, erectid the last funda-"tion of this priory, and" instead of restoring, "*had to kymself part of thauncient landes of* "*Bodmyn monasterie.*" (Leland's Itin. ii. 115.)

 Thus,

Thus, however, was the bishop of St. German's, or (as merely *entitled* at last) the bishop of St. German's *and of Bodmin*, provided with an income fully proportioned to his dignity, and amply competent for his expenditure. The sound of the names of his manors indeed is greater to our ears, than ever his income was to his own purse. But then the mode of living at the time and the relative cheapness of the country, must have made a short income run out into a long expenditure. Nor had the prelate of Cornwall any reason to complain of the too restrained bounty of his sovereign towards him. "The lord bishop "of this diocese," says Hals (as cited by Dr. Borlase), from an estimate formed in 1602, "is lord of several manors and lands in *Cornwall*, worth "ANNUALLY, if they were *not* leased, TWELVE THOUSAND POUNDS *." Or, to cite the very words of the author immediately from himself, as more particular than they appear in Dr. Borlase; after a calculation of the respective values of our Cornish rectories and vicarages, formed *much below their true values at present*, as made "accordinge to the "computation of Edward Herle, of Prideaux, esq. anno Dom. 1602," who in the male line was descended from a Northumberland family, though in the female from a Cornish one †, and who, from his residence in Cornwall, had every advantage of information, is subjoined this conclusion: "Soe the bishop of Bodman [St. German's] or Cornwall, now "Exon, *longe before the Norman conquest*, as he *still* is, *was possessed* "*of eight greate manors of land*, by the bounty and piety of the earles "of Cornwall and kings of England, given and appropriated to his see; "viz. Cudan Beake, Lanwhitton, Lanher, and Cargoll, Penryn" given since the Conquest, as Doomsday Book shews, "Burnear, Elerchy," of which merely the great tithes belong to the bishop, "Tregare," equally with those tithes given since the Conquest, as Doomsday Book again shews for both, "and *part* of Pawton," the whole indeed, as Doomsday Book shews once more; "the lands of all which, if they were *not* "leased, are worth ABOVE TWELVE THOUSAND POUNDS PER ANNUM ‡." The addition of several manors, which were donations posterior to the

* Borlase's Nat. Hist. 313, from Hals's MS. † See i. 4, a note.

‡ Hals's MS. at the close.

Conquest,

Conquest, and which raise the episcopal revenue of course beyond its real height; is balanced by the omission of many more manors, which are specified by Doomsday Book as prior to the Conquest, and therefore ought to be taken into our account. These are Trewel, Matele, Tregel, and Thinten. But to these must be subjoined another, even Probus, given *since* the Conquest, as Doomsday Book finally shews, unaccountably omitted by Mr. Herle, and yet of so much value in itself, that the late bishop Ross got *eight thousand* pounds for the renewal of a lease upon it. Thus, if the patrimony of our Cornish bishopric at the Conquest is diminished by the substraction of the *posterior* manors, it is also augmented by the addition of the *prior;* the reduced stream of endowment is again swelled to its full size; and at a *gross* estimate, in a *general* valuation, the revenue of our Cornish see may be still fixed, *if* the leases were annihilated that now exist, and that now produce perhaps not a tenth of the income, at the extended sum of TWELVE THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR *!

* Gibson in Camden, c. 19, cites an inquisition, 9 Edw. II. which specifies the Cornish manors of the bishop of Exeter thus, "Lawhitton, St. German's, Pawton, *Pregaer*, *Pen-ryn*, and Cargaul." The former of the *marked* manors should be Tregare, as in Hals above, situated in Gerens parish, and said by Hals, 138, to be called in Doomsday Book Tregara-du, which would very aptly signify GOD's Tregare; but falsely said by him, as the name never occurs in the book at all. The mistake arises perhaps from another name, nearly similar in form, and therefore fancied to be the same in reality, Ragarad-duc, read as Tregara-duw; yet one of the manors belonging *not* to the *bishop*, but to the earl. (See v. i. f. 124.) So he says, in p. 145, 146, concerning Penryn, that "this town—was a privileged manor—*before* the *Norman conquest*;" and that "by the name Pen-rin it was taxed, as the *voke* lands of a considerable manor, *in Doomsday roll*;" when it is not even mentioned in the roll. So he equally says, p. 8 and 140, that St. German's is called there "Abbietown," or "Abbie-tone," or "Cudanwooid;" when we have already seen, that not one of the three names occurs in it. He adds too, in p. 7, 14, 39, 59, &c. that no Cornish saint is mentioned in the book, except St. Wene, or St. Wena; when St. Wenne is not mentioned once, and St. Mawan, St. German, St. Michael, or St. Stephen, St. Petroc, St. Achebrann, St. Probus, St. Carentock, St. Pieran, St. Berrione, or St. Neot, with St. Constantine, are all mentioned expressly by name. So little can we depend upon any one reference to Doomsday Book in his accounts!

Errors of Hals.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Canons Regular established at Exeter and S. Germans. Account of S. Germans Priory House. Libraries in monasteries. Hucar.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ample endowment of the prelacy of Cornwall, the last prelate evidently complained of his income, as too scanty for his necessities or too diminutive for his merits. Leofric, whose affected timorousness and real avarice occasioned such an ecclesiastical revolution in our little empire, whose name is thus connected for ever with the internal history of it, but whose motives have never been held up to public reprobation before; though a Bretoon by birth, was "a man bred up and "taught among the Lorrainers," as Malmesbury informs us *. He therefore introduced a custom from Lorrain, upon this occasion. He found the church of St. Peter in Exeter, the intended cathedral of Cornwall and Devonshire, appropriated to a society of monks. He considered monks as improper clergymen in attendance upon a cathedral. He therefore dislodged the monks, and placed what were then and are now denominated CANONS, in their room †.

Bp. Leofric substitutes Canons regular, for monks, at Exeter.

The first monk was a hermit, renouncing society, and confining himself to solitude. This kind of life, however, presented such a dreary vacuity to the mind after a little experience, and impinged so strongly upon one of the first principles in the human soul, the ruling principle of communication; that it was soon exchanged, for a more comfortable sort of solitude. The hermit became social, and the hermitage expanded into a monastery. The moral principle of cohesion in man was not *extinguished*, as before; but the *centrifugal* power, if I may use the language, was now *counteracted* so far by the *centripetal*, as to produce a third from the union of both, that should be better than either. The love of society was to be indulged, but indulged so as not to break in upon religious retirement. Hence monks were incorporated into colleges, and, what is more wonderful, monks actually lived *in families as mar-*

* Malmesbury, f. 145: "Lefricus apud Lotharingos altus et doctus."

† Malmesbury, f. 145: "Lefricus, ejectis sanctimonialibus a Sancti Petri monasterio, "episcopatum et canonicos statuit."

ried

ried men. Even such monkery was confined entirely to the *laity;* the clergy having cures in villages or in towns, and being therefore precluded from monastic sequestrations. In time, however, monkery found its way among the clergy, as the collegiated monks were wildly obliged to be all ordained. Yet these were confined in their clerical offices, to the walls of their monasteries; and did not, as th genuine clergy did, engage in the parochial cure of souls †. Thus a distinction naturally arose between the latter, denominated the secular clergy, and the former, entitled the regular; *those,* as employed in the secular concerns of parish-cures; *these,* as living under the regulations of monkery. *These* particularly distinguished themselves now, by rejecting matrimony, and binding themselves under solemn vows of celibacy. Man can easily conceive a state of spirituality, which he can never realize. He thus proves himself to be designed for a higher rank in the creation, than what he can ever reach upon earth. He is unwittingly anticipating that "consummation" of his being, so "devoutly to be wished;" in which "we shall be as the angels in heaven, neither marrying nor "given in marriage." Thus in the tenth century, when the cathedral of St. German's first received an addition of a chapter to it, and in the eleventh, when the see of St. German's was transferred, with that of Crediton, to Exeter, the clergy, who had been embodied so long at all the greater churches of the Saxons, in what were laxly called *monasteries,* as very early to lend those churches the actual appellation of *minsters* *; were divided into monks renouncing matrimony, and canons or (as they were still known by their original appellation at times) clerks, using or not using matrimony as they pleased, in common with all the laity. Thus also of the secular clergy in the church of Ely, prior to the settlement of monks at it, one of them is recorded by the historian of Ely to have been *too curious, too* much actuated by the spirit of a modern antiquary, in examining whether the remains, or the grave-clothes of St. Etheldreda, reposited about two centuries before in their

† Bingham's Ant. iii. 13-27.

* Sax. Chron. p. 40, so early as A. D. 669: Mynster on to tymbrianne. Hence York *minster,* Rippon *minster,* Wimburne *minster,* West-*minster,* &c. popularly among us to this day.

unburied

unburied coffin of stone, yet remained entire; to have thus taken a stalk of the fennel, that was growing in great abundance upon the pavement of the unroofed church, to have thrust it through a hole which had been made by a Danish battle-axe, and so touched her body; to have then introduced a candle's end at the point of the stalk, which dropped off upon the grave-clothes of the saint, and there burned out, without setting fire to clothes so damp; but to have finally shaped the stalk into a crook, to have hooked the clothes, to have drawn them up to the opening, and to have cut off a slight particle from them; yet for these innocent, these antiquarian, these religious acts of curiosity, to have been miraculously punished by the saint, not indeed at the moment, but some time afterwards, as then "a very great plague invaded the *house* "of that *priest*, which struck his *wife* and his *children* with a speedy "death, and utterly destroyed his whole *progeny* †."

The first of these churches in monkery was the first in dignity, even the cathedral of Canterbury. The conversion of all England originating from Augustine and his brother-monks of the continent, he and they formed the first archbishop and the first chapter. All the archbishops afterward, in reverence to this fact, became monks (if they previously were not) before they were enthroned archbishops; and at last, below the Conquest, the monks trembled to receive William de Corbuil as archbishop, because he would not become a monk ‡. This establishment of monks in the metropolitical church of all England, must have greatly encouraged the settlement of them in the other cathedrals. Yet so strong was the prejudice of good-sense against them, that I know not

† Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 602, 603: "Mox ingens pestis arripuit domum illius "sacerdotis, quæ conjugem ejus ac liberos ejus citâ morte percussit, totamque progeniem "funditus extirpavit."

‡ Bede's Hist. i. 23, "Augustinum et alios plures cum eo monachos;" Malmesbury, f. 114, "Nullum ad id tempus [Odonis] nisi monachili schemate indutum archiepisco-"pum fuisse;" f. 115, "Constat—monachos in ecclesiâ Sancti Salvatoris," at Canterbury, "fuisse a tempore Sancti Laurentii archiepiscopi, qui primus beatissimo Augustino "successit;" and f. 125, "Willielmus de Corbuil,—defuncto Radulpho Cantuariæ archie-"piscopo, in illum honorem evectus est, quem quamvis monachi trepidâssent suscipere "quòd esset clericus," &c.

any

any of our present chapters beside, to have been composed of them originally. Rochester, the second cathedral of England in point of time, which had Justus, recommended by Augustine himself to the see §; which had also "Ithamar,—an Englishman by birth, who "wanted nothing of perfect holiness in life, *nothing of Roman elegance* "in knowledge, *the first who brought into his own country the ornament* "*of the pontifical honour in the person of an Englishman*, and so lent some "dignity to his countrymen ‖;" but which had equally Thobias, "who "had drunk deep of the knowledge of letters, even to an extreme satiety "of them, having not only the *Latin* but the *Greek* so familiar to him, "that he could *express in them equally as in his own language whatever* "*he wished*, and *not less elegantly than readily* *;" yet at the Conquest was merely "a church, miserable and empty, wanting every thing "within and without, as there were scarcely four *canons* in it †." St. Paul's cathedral, in London, cotemporary with that of Rochester in its erection, had Erkenwald for its bishop, about 675; and he, as Malmesbury remarks, "is considered in London as a man peculiarly holy, and "as meriting no little the favour of the *canons*; for his readiness in "*giving them audience* ‡." York, the next cathedral in time to both,

§ Malmesbury, f. 132.

‖ Malmesbury, f. 132: "Ithamar,—Anglus quidem ortu, sed in quo nihil perfectæ "sanctitatis quantum ad vitam, nihil elegantiæ Romanæ quantum ad scientiam, deside-"rares; ita primus in patriam pontificalis honoris in Angli personâ ferens gratiam, pro-"vincialibus suis nonnullam dignitatem adjecit." Nennius, c. lxiv. seemingly asserts Egbert, made archbishop of York about 743 (Godwin, 656), to have been the first Englishman ordained a bishop; "Egbirth episcopum, qui fuit primus de natione eorum." But as Bede, iii. 14, confirms the assertion of Malmesbury, concerning the English descent and the episcopal dignity of Ithamar; so Nennius must mean Egbert to be the first *Northumbrian* made a bishop, "de natione *eorum*," while Ithamar was a Kentish man. (Bede, iii. 14.)

* Malmesbury, f. 132: "Thobiam scientiâ literarum (ut Beda dicit) extremâ satietate "imbutum, quippe qui non modò Latinam sed et Græcam linguam ita familiares haberet, "ut quodcunque vellet, æquè ut propriâ, non minùs facetè quàm expeditè proferret." See also Bede, v. 23.

† Malmesbury, f. 132: "Ecclesiâ miserabili et vacuâ, omnium rerum indigentia [indi-"genti] intus et extra, vix enim quatuor canonici erant."

‡ Malmesbury, f. 134: "Habetur—Erkenwaldus Londoniæ maximè sanctus, et pro "exauditionis celeritate favorem canonicorum nonnihil emeritus."

had equally its *canons*; Thomas, appointed archbishop in 1070, being "distinguished by elegance of person as an object pleasing to be contemplated, in youth enjoying a fine vigour and proportion of limbs, in age being ruddy, with a vivid glow of countenance, and white as a swan in his locks,—yet never aspersed by any sinister report of any violation of celibacy;—only throwing an air of sadness over his successors, by his liberality, by squandering away a great part of the episcopal lands, in too much prodigality (as is said) towards the *clergy*, and so attracting a *clergy* of competent incomes and learning around him §." But to come towards Cornwall, Sherborne cathedral, that mother to Salisbury, had *canons* to the tenth century; when bishop Wilfsin "ejected the *clerks* from the episcopal church, and fixed monks in their room *." Yet the daughter-cathedral itself had *clerks* or *canons* afterward, "*clerks* distinguished by their literature,—*canons* more celebrated than any others for their literature and their music †." Even Crediton cathedral appears from the conduct of Leofric, in expelling the monks from St. Peter's in Exeter, and in replacing them with *canons* on his settlement of the cathedral in it; to have equally had *canons* itself. And the very cathedral of St. German's appears, from a fact which I shall soon produce, to have equally had *canons* from the days of Athelstan, the founder of its chapter, to the days of Edward, the dissolver of it.

But, in the time of Edgar and Dunstan, "the order of monks" was thought "not to neglect in any part of the country, a life emulous of

§ Malmesbury, f. 155: "Thomas,—elegantiâ personatûs spectabilis, desiderio videntibus erat, juvenis vigore et æqualitate membrorum commodus, senex vivido faciei rubore, et capillis cygneus, liberalitate suâ successores suos contristavit, ut qui multam episcopalium terrarum partem in clericorum usum, nimiè (ut dicunt) prodigus, distraxerit, clerum sufficientem opibus et literis adunaverit;—cœlibatum ejus nunquam sinister rumor aspersit."

* Malmesbury, f. 141: "Wilfsinus—in sede episcopali monachos, clericis rejectis, instituit."

† Malmesbury, f. 142: "Clerici—literis insignes—; emicabat ibi magis quàm aliàs canonicorum claritas, cantibus et literaturâ juxta nobilium."

"their

" their profession; because they had rulers over them, religious in " life, famous in knowledge, whom idleness did not make slow, or con- " fidence render precipitate *." A resolution was therefore taken up by the archbishop and the king, to change all the canons into monks, with or *without* their own consent; as such puritanism of principle did not admit much moderation in practice. " The *clerks* of *many* churches," says a *monk*, " having the option given them, either to change their " dress or abandon their preferment; *gave way to better men, leaving* " *their places vacant* †." So large and so resolute was the opposition of the clergy, to an innovation fantastical in itself, unnatural in its operation, and very dangerous in the experiment! For that very reason assuredly the experiment was not pushed on to any great extent at this period. The many churches, which I have already noticed as *clerical* or *canonical;* and the many more that I could notice ‡, shew this. Such fortitude in resisting was sure to awe the soul of fanaticism itself, and to make it shrink into its *cellula adiposa* again. The monks indeed were frequently disliked by the bishops, even below the Conquest. Thus Walkelm, or Walkelin, who was nominated to the bishopric of Winchester by the Conqueror himself, " being a *foreigner*, and *new to* " *the monks*," that had been violently thrust into the chapter a few years before §, and that must have been then unknown in their rigours to the continent in general, as confined to Lorraine entirely, " *hated the* " *men* ‖." Thus also, when John, bishop of Wells, " a *physician* by " profession,

* Malmesbury, f. 115: " Ordo monasticus æmulam professionis suæ vitam per omnia " loca non negligebat; propterea quòd haberent rectores, vitâ religiosos, scientiâ claros, " quos nec desidia tardos nec audacia præcipites faceret."

† Malmesbury, f. 115: " Clerici multarum ecclesiarum, datâ optione ut aut amictum " mutarent aut locis valedicerent, cessêre melioribus, habitacula vacua facientes."

‡ Malmesbury, f. 139, Winchester cathedral; f. 153, Worcester; f. 161, Gloucester; f. 165, Chester; f. 166, Oxford; and Florence, p. 417, Hereford.

§ Malmesbury, f. 139: " Clerici episcopatûs,—datâ optione ut aut vitam mutarent aut loco cederent, molliorem partem eligentes, exturbati sunt monachis introductis."

‖ Malmesbury, f. 140: " Advena novus, monachos exosus." Malmesbury represents him indeed, as afterwards altering in his opinion of them; " facilè correctus, umbraticum " illud odium sæpe deploravit, deinceps fovens eos ut filios, diligens ut fratres, honorans ut " dominos."

"profession, who had acquired *no little fortune* by *his practice*," being "a physician *of high character*, not for *knowledge* but for *experience*," as "fame (I know not whether truly or falsely) has reported," had transferred his see to Bath, in the reign of Rufus, and fixed it in a church of monks here; "he behaved harshly to the monks," says a monk himself, "because they were *blockheads*, and in his estimation *barbarians*; taking "from them all the lands that were to supply them with victuals, and "slenderly furnishing them by his lay-servants with a little food*." Just so we behold Leofric disliking the monks, at the equal translation of a see to Exeter; and with a bolder hand, because perhaps with a greater authority, sweeping them away from his intended cathedral at once †.

But the tide still ran so strong in favour of monks, with Leofric equally as with the nation; that he, with all his authority and boldness, bent before it, even while he resisted it; bent in reality, even while he resisted in appearance. The grand distinction between the clerk, the canon, and the monk, as I have repeatedly observed before, is the vow of celibacy

"dominos." Yet even Malmesbury allows, that he was still, "nihil minus, pro dissimi-"litudine vestis, exhibens eis vel adjutorii vel familiaritatis." And, as is well observed in Godwin, 213, "idonei certè sunt authores, monachos illum ubicunque data esset facultas "(vid. Eadmer, l. i. p. 10), cœnobiis expulisse, et seculares presbyteros introduxisse."

* Malmesbury, f. 144: "Joannes—, professione medicus, qui non minimum quæstum "illo conflaverat artificio,—medicus probatissimus non scientiâ sed usu, ut fama (nescio "an vera) dispersit,—durè in monachos agebat, quòd essent hebetes et ejus æstimatione "barbari, et omnes terras victualium ministras conferrens, pauculumque victum per laicos "suos exiliter inferens." Nor was he the only bishop who had previously been a physician. We find a bishop of Durham, who had been the queen's physician; as the prior of Durham "fabricavit ecclesiam Dunelmensem de novo, adjuvante Nicolao Fernham episcopo Dunel-"mensi, priùs reginæ medico" (Leland's Itin. viii. 12). Godwin, 741, 742, fixes Fernham's nomination to the see in 1241, the 25th of Henry III.

† A ridiculous tale is floating loosely in conversation at times, as if *Bath* and Wells were first united in consequence of a blunder; a divine being offered either *Bath* or Wells by James I. the divine in his acceptance pronouncing *Bath* as *Both*, both being therefore united jocularly in his person, and so continuing united ever afterwards. The union, we see, was actually made no less than *five centuries* before the accession of James. And let historians beware from this instance, how they engraft traditionary anecdotes upon the stock of history. Such anecdotes are generally, as here, the mistakes of ignorance, or the miscreations of fraudulence.

formally

formally made by the monk, and not made by the canon or clerk. But let me here prove the point again, for the further illustration of my present subject. A few years after the Conquest, pope Hildebrand, in a synod, "by a curse interdicted the *clerks*, especially those who were consecrated to the divine ministery," some clerks being not clergymen, but the same as our parish-clerks at present, not ordained, yet subservient to clergymen in the offices of religion, "from having wives or inhabiting with women *." The year following also, finding his interdict of no avail, or (in the words of the historian, another monk) "because the *clerks* chose rather to lie under an anathema than be without "wives, pope Hildebrand, in order to chastise them (if he could) by "the hands of others, commanded that no one should attend the mass "of a married priest †." This command, and that interdict, indeed, refer equally to the parochial as the conventual clergy; because the celibacy of the monk was now attempted to be forced upon every clergyman. The command of Hildebrand, therefore, ran in these comprehensive terms: "if there are any presbyters, deacons, *subdeacons*," the clerks *not* in orders, as mentioned above, and the very fathers of our parish-clerks, "who lie under the guilt of *fornication*," that is, of *matrimony*, now for the first time impudently and impiously denominated *fornication*, as forbidden by these ridiculous laws of man, though allowed by the very laws of GOD himself, though indeed appointed by the very system of his providence, and enforced by the very necessities of our original creation, in the transmission of mankind through a course of descents from a single pair; "we interdict them—any entrance into the "church, even till they repent and amend; but if any choose to persist "in their sin, let none of you presume to attend them as they offi-"ciate ‡." And "one Athelstan," notes Malmesbury in that very language

* Florence, p. 439: "Hildebrandus—papa, sinodo celebratâ—, banno interdixit clericis, "maximè divino ministerio consecratis, uxores habere vel cum mulieribus habitare."

† Florence, p. 441: "Dum clerici magis eligerent anathemati subjacere quàm uxoribus "carere, Hildebrandus papa, ut per alios (si posset) castigaret, præcepit; ut nullus audiret "missam conjugati presbyteri."

‡ Florence, p. 441: "Siqui sunt presbiteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, qui jacent in crimine "fornicationis,

language of Hildebrand's monkery, which binds the incidental remark close to my present reasoning, "apostatized from his monkish dress, "despised celibacy, and expired in the embraces of a" wife, abusively called a "whore*." In this state of the human mind, when with the best intentions it was opening a way for the worst vices; when it was certainly introducing into the church, and placing at the altar, that very fornication with which it dared to charge matrimony; when religion was thus mounting to the sky in its balloon of fire and smoke, *before* it sadly found itself all in flames from its very means of mounting, and *before* it came hurrying to the earth again with destruction all around it; Leofric began a kind of mixed discipline among his new canons of Exeter, that should make them monks in reality, though canons in name, even more than monks under the very name of canons. He obliged them, says Malmesbury, "*contrary to the manner of the English*, but "conformably to the custom of Lorraine, to EAT IN ONE HALL, to

"fornicationis, interdicimus—introitum ecclesiæ, usque dum pœniteant et emendent; siqui "autem in peccato suo perseverare maluerint, nullus vestrûm officium eorum auscultare "præsumat."

* Malmesbury, f. 138: "Quendam Ethelstanum, qui—monachicæ vestis apostata, "cœlibatu contempto, in meretriciis amplexibus vitam effudit." Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, what sufficiently explains the opprobrious terms used here and before; "Notum "in *Walliâ* nimis est atque notorium," he cries complaining, "canonicos Menevenses *ferè* "*cunctos*, maximè vero Walensicos, publicos *fornicarios* et *concubinarios* esse sub alis eccle- "siæ cathedralis, et tanquam in ipso ejusdem gremio, *focarias* suas cum *obstetricibus* et "*nutricibus* atque *cunabulis* in *laribus* et *penetralibus* exhibentes." But in another work he extends the complaint to *England*. An old clergyman there, he remarks, "ecclesiam *filio* "*suo* cesserat—presbytero—; filius autem, *more sacerdotum parochialium Angliæ ferè* "*cunctorum*,—secum habebat comitem *individuam*, et *in foco focariam*, et *in cubiculo con-* "*cubinam*," whom the old clergyman called "Filia," and who called him again "Pater." Accordingly he adds, concerning the Welsh, what appears, from his own account, to be equally true concerning the English, "ut sicut *patres* eorum *ipsos* ibi *genuerunt* et *promo-* "*verunt*, sic et *ipsi* more consimili *prolem* ibidem *suscitant*, tam in vitiis sibi quàm beneficiis "succedaneam; *filiis* namque *suis*, statim cum adulti fuerent et plenè pubertatis annos "excesserint, *con-canicorum suorum filias*, ut sic firmiori fœdere sanguinis scilicet et affini- "tatis jure jungantur, quasi *maritali copulâ* dari procurant." Wharton's Anglia Sacra, ii. 525, 526. So in Simeon Dunelmensis, 35, we see a clergyman noticed, as "non longè "ab urbe ecclesiam habens," yet "*uxori copulatus*," and so leading "indignam sacerdotis "officio vitam."

"SLEEP

"SLEEP IN ONE DORMITORY ‖." This precluded all *possibility* of marriage. They *could* neither "have wives" nor "inhabit with women." They took no vow of celibacy indeed, but were cut off from all use of matrimony. They were thus kept in the cage of celibacy, not by any bond of voluntary obligations, but by the much stronger bars and bolts of an imprisoning necessity. They were therefore acting really under all the rigours of monkish celibacy, even while they apparently gloried in their liberty under the appellation of canons. They were even doing more, and *compelled* to be *stricter* than the very monks themselves, some monks *avowedly* marrying; as Herbert the bishop, who transferred the see from Thetford to Norwich, and in 1096 began the cathedral at the latter, was known at the time, and is therefore declared by history without hesitation, to have had for his *father*; "Robert, the *abbot* of Winchester *." Thus did that practice, which is known to have been universal in our conventual societies, *begin first at Exeter*, begin under the auspices of a continental divine, made prelate there, and begin by his introduction of it, not from the continent at large, not from France, not from Italy, those special regions of refinement to our isle, but from *Germany*, from *the least refined part* too of that unrefined whole, even from *Lorraine!* But, thus begun at Exeter, by Leofric, "the rule was transmitted to their successors," adds Malmesbury, plainly implying it to be peculiar to this chapter of canons *even then*; "though, in the luxuriousness of the times, it has been in "some degree relaxed," the good sense of the head revolting against this severity upon the heart. "But these *clerks*," as Malmesbury, with equal impropriety and contradictoriness, calls them now, "have a "steward appointed by the bishop, who supplies them every day with

‖ Malmesbury, f. 145: "Canonicos statuit, qui contra morem Anglorum, ad formam "Lotharingorum, uno triclinio comederent, uno cubiculo cubitarent."

* Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 407: "Et pater suus, Robertus abbas Wintoniæ." Nor is this testimony to be eluded by what we learn from Malmesbury, f. 136, that the father became abbot by the simony of the son; as he equally became bishop himself, adds Malmesbury, by the same means, "etiam abbatiam episcopatumque nummis aucupatus." The new abbot must have been a monk before.

"the

"the necessary food, and every *year* with the proper clothing †." And in order to shew how rigorously this interdiction of female company was maintained among all the canons of our cathedrals, I need only cite the conduct of those at Durham in 1333. Edward III. came then to spend some days with the prior, as Philippa his queen came the day afterward. She, ignorant of "the custom of the church of Durham, "entered the gate of the abbey to the chamber of the prior, supped "with the king there, and after supper retired to sleep there with the "king. Then a monk intimated to his majesty," who had not yet retired, "that *St. Cuthbert did not love the presence of women:*" the king therefore went to tell the queen; "*the queen rose at the king's* "*command, in a petticoat only, covered with a cloak,* returned by the "gate at which she entered, and so repaired to the castle, beseeching "the saint not to punish in wrath what she had committed in igno-"rance ‡."

In this manner was the new chapter formed at Exeter, consisting equally of canons as the chapter of St. German's, but of canons under the iron yoke of celibacy. The canons of St. German's, in the mean time, escaped the hand of this wildly-reforming Lorrainer, who seems to have shared equally the insensibility with the covetousness of age, to have lost all his finer feelings in one crushing hug of avarice, and to have been thrown into a mental as well as moral kind of apoplexy by it: those of Exeter were like the monks or regulars, as I have already observed, and *therefore* denominated expressly canons *regular*; these

† Malmesbury, f. 145: "Transmissa est hujuscemodi regula ad posteros, *quamvis* pro "luxu temporum, nonnullâ jam ex parte deciderat; habentque clerici œconomum ab "episcopo constitutum, qui eis diatim necessaria victui, annuatim amictui commoda, "suggerat."

‡ Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 760: "Philippa—, ignorans consuetudinem ecclesiæ "Dunelmensis, per portam abbathiæ ad cameram priorie descendebat, et ibi cum rege "manebat. Et cùm cœnâ factâ cubâsset, intimatum est regi per quendam monachum, "quomodo S. Cuthbertus mulierum præsentiam non amabat. Ad præceptum igitur regis "surrexit regina, et in tunicâ solâ, co-operta clamide, per portam quam intravit rediit, et "sic ad castrum se contulit, rogans sanctum ne quod ignoranter fecerat vindicaret."

of St. German's were like the secular clergy, as I have equally observed, and *therefore* denominated as expressly canons *secular*. "The see and "SECULAR CANONS" of St. German's, says Leland, "were translated to "Exeter*." The canons, however, were still continued at St. German's, equally secular as before, and, like the parochial clergy, still maintaining their liberty unshackled by the fanaticism of monkery; they thus maintained it amid the growing encroachments of tyranny around them for more than one hundred years. In this interval of time the Conquest took place, and the fanaticism of Lorraine was carefully fostered by the hand of Normandy. William Warlewast, who became bishop of Exeter in 1107, and held the see twenty years, two before his death modelled that younger sister and once assuming rival of St. German's, the priory of Bodmin, into the form of the abbey at his cathedral †. So likewise "one William Warwick, bishop of Execester," says Leland concerning the very same prelate, at Plympton in Devonshire, "displeasid with the chanons or prebendaries of a fre chapelle of "the fundation of the Saxon kinges," even of Athelstan himself probably, as I have formerly remarked, when I noticed the rectory of

* Leland's Coll. i. 75: "Sedes et canonici seculares translati Exon."

† Godwin, 401, 402. Leland's Coll. i. 75, 76: "S. Petrocus de Bodmyne or S. Aug. "Ethelstanus rex monachos hìc posuit primùm. Postea introducti sunt canonici *seculares*. "Tandem verò canon. *regular*." The first assertion is not strictly true; the first members of the priory were only called *monks*, in that laxer sense by which all greater churches were called *monasteries* or *mynsters*: they really were what they were more justly denominated afterwards, canons secular. And of these it is that Leland speaks with all the bitterness of a real monk, derived with the mistake in point of fact from the succeeding *regulars* assuredly; "*morluis* tunc ibidem monachis, in sortes *clericorum*," nicknamed as having children "*heredipetarum*, *maxima* pars reddituum cesserat." In "25 regis Henrici 1^mi," A. D. 1125, "quidam Algarus, cum conniventiâ episcopi Exon. Gul. Warwest, obtinuit "licentiam a rege, ut eadem ecclesia *regul.* dicaretur disciplinæ; quâ obtentâ, incepit ordo "canon. *regul.* et perseveravit in hunc diem. Cui episcopo rex fundationem hujus monas- "ter. contulit, cum situ et terris vicinis." (Itin. ii. 115.) "There hath bene monkes, "then nunnys, then seculare prestes, then monkes agayn, and last canons regular, in "S. Petrokes chirch yn Bodmyne," when all the while there have been only canons secular and canons regular. So procreative is error! and so necessary is it for a modern antiquary to *think* as he moves, even when he moves with the best of the ancient antiquaries for his guides!

St. Anthony in Roseland to be annexed to it, probably by Athelstan ‡, "because they would not leve theyr *concubines*" or *wives*, "found "meanes to *dissolve their college* §." This forms a striking instance how *forcibly* this prelate applied to their passions, overcoming the honest instincts of nature, overpowering the honourable suggestions of morality, by a tyrannical appeal to their worldly solicitudes. Accordingly we find that an archbishop of York, "soone after the Conquest," got "the colledge [or priory] of St. Oswald," at Gloucester, "impro-"priate to the seat of Yorke," then "practized with the prebendaries "[to be] of a new fundation, and that they should be chanons *regular*; "some were content, *some would not*, but the bishop *brought his pur-"pose to passe* by *power*, and there instituted a house of chanons *regu-"ler*‖." But what glaringly marks the conduct of *some* at least among these wild reformers, *that* bishop of Exeter "*had to hymself* part of "thauncient landes of Bodmyn monasterie ¶;" and *this* archbishop of York "instituted a house of chanons *reguler*" at Gloucester, "impro-"priating benefices unto them, and giving them *coyletts* [or *quillets*] of "land, *reserving* the *goodly* landes to *the church of Yorke*, that at this "tyme be yet possessed of it *." These puritan prelates, in the midst of their zeal for heaven, attended carefully to the good things of earth, and took them from the very priories that were the objects of their zeal. So coolly selfish could they be, like our modern Quakers, under the very calenture of fanaticism! Yet their selfishness, let it be noted to their credit, was not of the gross, grovelling, and earthly kind. No! It was of a refined and delicate nature, such as never yet has been noticed in the history of man; they plundered not for themselves, not for their relations, but—for their churches, and so avoided all that consummation of guilt in robbery which we denominate sacrilege †.

At

‡ See v. 1, before. § Itin. iii. 45. ‖ Itin. iv. 82.
¶ Itin. ii. 115. * Itin. iv. 82.

† What "part" of "thauncient landes of Bodmyn" the bishop took, may seem impossible to be ascertained, yet is not; it appearing plainly to be that Cargaul, or Cargau, which in Doomsday Book belongs to the priory, but in a record so early as the 9th of Edward II. is the property of the see, and remains the property of the see at present. (See the last section, a note at the end, and the text near it.) Even this I would gladly presume not to have been absolutely

At the end of this interval, however, Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, who was made bishop in 1161, and died in 1184†, came with all the monkery of his own and the other chapters, but with all the authority of the archbishop and the king, to model the priory of St. German's into the same form. "From a view to religion and piety," says the prelate in his charter of backward reformation, meaning very sincerely (I believe) the interests of piety and religion, but wandering wildly away (I am convinced) in the pursuit of them, "I have changed the "church of St. German in Cornwall, which was acting with little of "ecclesiastical strictness, and almost with a secular kind of laxity, into "the life of canons *regular*‡." What this want "of ecclesiastical "strictness," what this abundance of "secular laxity" really were, we are not now to be taught; we have seen sufficiently before, that the "laxity" means only the Christian liberty of marrying, and the "strict-"ness" signifies merely "the doctrine of devils forbidding to marry." This doctrine was now established in full form of practice within the priory of St. German's, standing sternly victorious over all opposition, and savagely trampling human nature in the dust. Thus did a monkish celibacy go on under the compulsion of vows, or under the restraint of impossibilities; the conventual clergy being all (I believe) reduced beneath the yoke at last, but the parochial still struggling for their freedom, from the advantages of their position, and still maintaining it in spite of

Bp. Bartholomew substitutes regular for secular Canons at S. Germans.

absolutely taken away by the bishop, to have been indeed taken only in exchange for another manor; as, while one of the prior's manors in Doomsday Book appears to have passed into the possession of the bishop; one of the bishop's appears also to have migrated into the hands of the prior, Polton, alias Pawton, thus answering to Cargaul, alias Cargau. See the last section for Pawton. Yet Cargaul was certainly not taken in exchange for Polton, because they are both specified as equally the possessions of the see in the record of Edward II. See the last section in the note at the end.

† Godwin, 403.

‡ Leland's Coll. i. 75: "Ex chartâ B. episcopi Exoniensis tempore Henrici Secundi. "'Ego ecclesiam S. Germani in Cornubiâ, parum ecclesiasticè et penè seculariter conver-"santem, in vitam canonicorum regularium, religionis et pietatis intuitu, converti.' Barp-"tolomeus episcopus Exoniensis, qui fuit familiaris Balduino archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. "Balduinus archiepiscopus Cantuar. factum approbavit.—Episcopus Exoniensis—canon. "reg. induxit auctoritate regis."

all invasions from their dispersion over the country §, till the Reformation happily came to restore the Gospel to man, and man to the Gospel, to free those who were peculiarly worthy to be free, and to replace nominal canons, but real monks with canons at once nominal and real ‖.

Before

§ The parochial clergy continued to marry in defiance of all canons and interdicts, down to the Reformation. (Hist. of Manchester, ii. quarto, 458-460.) In them nature, as formed by GOD, and as conformed to Scripture, was in fact or in figure the "Pontem indignatus" "Araxes" of Virgil.

‖ That much irregularity of practice might naturally be expected from, and would surely be imputed to, a compelled celibacy, we are ready enough to believe: accordingly numerous have been the protestant falsehoods that have passed current against the popish clergy since the Reformation. "I have seen in the Augmentation-office," cries Burnet with authority seemingly decisive, "the original surrender of *one* of those houses," in "which" the monks "*confess themselves* to have been guilty of *sodomy*, and *other lewdnesses therein par-* "*ticularly named*; and *I know* no reason they had to subscribe with their own hands to" "such an accusation, if they had not been guilty of those wickednesses." Why then were they not hanged upon their confessions? Only because they must have been *tried*, in order to be hanged, I suppose; and then the violence which had extorted the confessions, or the forgery which had fabricated them, would have been disclosed. "My lord of Sarum—in "particular—says, that Christ-church in Canterbury was represented as *a little Sodom.*" Here the charge becomes particular, and may therefore be refuted at once. On new-modelling the priory into a college, "there were eight prebendaries, ten petit-canons, nine scho-" lars, and two choristers, being in all twenty-nine, *admitted into this college*, who *had* "*been members of the dissolved priory*; besides *several* others, as Dr. Goldwell and William "Wynchepe, who *were marked out and assigned for prebends in this new church*, but did "not accept thereof: *others* were *preferred* in *other* churches, *all of them had pensions and* "*rewards.*" If Burnet's account be true therefore, Henry, the very charger of monks with sodomy, was equally the very patron of the sodomite monks. But, as "my lord of Sarum "has truly and fairly reported—all foul stories that *could* be *found out* were *published*, to "defame the religious houses," and so to "give some colour to justify the pulling of them "down." The man whose wealth composes his guilt, who has also power for his examiner, his condemner, and his confiscator, is sure to be found guilty; he will be made to confess falsehoods for his own crimination, either by the force of violence, or by the fraud of forgery. Thus "the priory of Christ-church in Canterbury," so reprobated for an actual Sodom, "seems not *in the least* to have been guilty of *any* immorality or lewdness;" and indeed appears plainly to have not been, from the very rewards assigned the monks by Henry. In fact, "the prior—was a learned, grave, and religious man—; the convent "was a society of grave persons:" yet this very convent, and that very prior, are represented

Before this blessed event took place, the whole plan of Athelstan's provision for St. German's parish was superseded entirely; his college of clergy was turned into a society of fanatics, fanatics in fact, though not in will; too much puritans to engage in the secular, in even the spiritual concerns of the parish, to converse with women, to visit the sick, and to pray with the dying. These, if not the very offices of religion in the church, were actions indecorous for such prudish divines; all were certainly devolved upon some secular clergyman, as a deputy to the convent, now appointed to this church for the first time. The whole extent of revenue for all the members of the convent, even so late as the Reformation, was valued only at 243*l.* 8*s.* in all, and 227*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* clear*; but in the Valor of 1292, two centuries and a half before, it was rated merely at 10*l.*†. What proportion to either of these sums the allowance to the secular clergyman bore, we cannot ascertain; because no vicar was appointed with a stated proportion of the tithes, and the officiating divine was a simple stipendiary. Hence also we find not any secular divine appointed to the church, even a whole century after the introduction of monks into the priory, as late as

sented by the effrontery of falsehood as forming a very Sodom. This representation, therefore, stands for all. See also Newcome's Abbey of St. Alban, 434. And I only add, that Burnet in the credulity of his weak mind, and in the malignity of his protestant spirit, says "these houses," in general, "became lewd and dissolute, and so *impudent in filthiness*, "that some of their farms were *let for bringing in a yearly tribute*" of *whores* "to their "lusts." See Battely, 118, 119, 120. Monasteries were thus *acknowledged* bawdy-houses, like the one still seen in ruins at Pompeii, and shewing equally engraved in front that ensign of their business which has puzzled sir W. Hamilton, in Arch. iv. 169. Even another writer, and a writer entitled to no little share of reputation for the judiciousness of his ecclesiastical or political opinions, whom I may therefore, in his own language, characterize as the "celebrious" historian of Somersetshire (see the word in his i. 52, iii. 132), has carried the calumny so far, even without seeming to intend it, as to tell us that "in the *friery* at "Ivelchester was *born*—Roger Bacon—." (Collinson, iii. 304.) Frieries thus appear again to have been made by the monks nothing less than lying-in hospitals.

* "The priory of St. German, in this deanery [of East], was returned by the commis-"sioners to be worth, in temporal and spiritual property, the net annual sum of 227*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*" (Bacon's Liber Regis, 300.) See also Stevens's two volumes additional to Monasticon, i. 33, "Priorat. de Seynt Germain—, summa inde 243*l.* 8*s.*; summa clara 227*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*"

† Pope Nicholas's Valor, "Ecclesia Sancti Germani x li."

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the Valor of pope Nicholas; even find none as late as the Reformation itself, and the very Valor of Henry VIII. ‡. The parish was thus thrown back in provision for its spiritual necessities, even in provision for its secular probably, as the want of personal intercourse with the parishioners must certainly have obstructed the current of charity from the monks, into the state in which it stood *before* the church was collegiated by Athelstan; and indeed into a state so much worse than that, as a stipendiary curate was less capable of charity than a rich rector: nor did the Reformation, which removed *that* exorbitant evil of compelled celibacy, remove *this*. The Reformation, we must confess with a sigh, was with the gross multitude, with the great vulgar as well as the small, little more than the selfishness of sacrilege, taking care to continue every abuse which would minister to its profit. It thus continued the fanatical practice of monkery, by seizing upon all the rectorial income as well as the conventual endowment, and so leaving only the popish curate for the church, with the popish stipend for him §.

But, at the original introduction of monkery into the parish, as great an alteration was made in the interiors of the conventual house as was in the canons inhabiting it. To shew this, I must take a survey of the house as it was disposed within, even down to the days of Mr. Willis. I shall thus lead my reader by the hand, walk with him into the rooms of a convent, not nodding in ruined walls over our heads, not deprived of its several partitions, and presenting merely one indiscriminated, one indiscriminable scene of confusion; but now or lately existing in much of

‡ Bacon, 302, "St. German's curacy."

§ Hals, p. 140, cites in form the Valor of 1292, for a vicar here at xl shillings a year: but this is all a mistake, as the vicar in the Valor belongs to Lanrake, named immediately before, and not to St. German's, named before Lanrake. He also speaks of the revenues "being, *before the fifteenth of Richard the Second*, wholly impropriated to St. George's "chapel at Windsor, and only 14*l.* per annum deducted towards the maintenance of *the* "*two vicars* to serve the cure;" when the *tithes* alone were, when even these were not given *till* the days of the Reformation, the reign of Edward VI.; and when no provision was made at the time for the maintenance of two vicars, of one vicar, or of a mere curate: the provision has been made since, the church of Windsor charging its tithes with a voluntary payment to the curate every year.

its

its conventual form, with many of its conventual rooms, and with some even of its conventual furniture; all inhabited equally as in the days of its monkery, all preserved in a condition even *more* comfortable than in the very meridian of its splendour. Such a walk has never yet been taken by any author, and I glory in being the first to take it. The Priory House.

The house is handsome, large, and lofty, turning its front to the river, and presenting its back to the church. The front is composed of a narrow body, and two wings projecting broadly from it; the back is nearly all flat: but this being built close up to the tall bank, on which the parsonage once stood, and the church still stands, the offices are all upon the ground-floor, and the first floor is level *behind* with the surface of the bank. From that bank we enter into what was still denominated THE GREAT HALL, in Mr. Willis's time; then extending over the two bed-rooms, with their dressing-rooms, &c. on the right or left, and with them forming originally the dining-hall of the prior, his eight brethren, their officers occasionally with them, and their servants after them; just as we see still practised in the halls of our colleges at Oxford upon those *gaudy* or festival days which shew us the ancient modes of collegiate dining in their fullest form. So our kings at their coronation dine in the old hall of Westminster, because it is the hall of their old palace there, and because they used to dine in *that*, when they resided in *this*. So "the great hall at Eltham," in Kent, "probably built by "Edward II. was also the common dining-hall of that palace; and is in "point of magnificence and unpolished grandeur but little inferior to "that at Westminster.—The several kings, Richard the Second, Henry "the Fourth, Henry the Sixth, and Henry the Seventh, resided at this "palace very much: and it appears from a record extant in the office of "arms, that even the last of them most commonly dined himself in the "great hall, where his officers also had their respective tables*." On this account also was it that the windows of these halls were decorated so much with paintings on the glass. "The *high-fancied* architects of "our ancient churches," says an ingenious gentleman in a manner pecu- The Hall.

* Arch. vi. 366.

liarly ingenious, "probably never thought of erecting a place for reli-
"gious worship, without giving it *the devotional glow* of painted glass.
"Whether our ancestors judged as well in painting the windows of their
"halls with coats armorial, may admit of a doubt. If we consider them
"as *entrances to* [rather *principal parts of*] their stately mansions, the
"richness of coloured windows has a good effect; but there is a gloom
"belonging to them which seems not to suit well with apartments of
"convivial festivity *." Our ancestors were a serious, thoughtful race of men, and *therefore* loved to see the "dim religious light" diffused over their dinners as well as their prayers; they kept up all the forms of domestic devoutness in their houses; the chapel, the chaplain, and the graces at meals; even their "convivial festivity" was thus attempered with religion in *design*, whatever it might be in *practice;* the *habits* of their minds were religious, however they might occasionally *deviate* from them in *acts;* and their halls, which were their daily dining-rooms, which therefore resounded daily to the voice of prayer before and after dinner, analogously received through the paintings on their windows, a light softened down into a shade, that, like the moon's veil of light, at once obscured and set off the whole. This principle we find carried to such a luxurious and prodigal extent in one instance, that the lord who erected Sudeley castle in the reigns of Henry V. or VI. actually glazed the windows of the hall with those transparent gems the BERYLS, which must have cast from their small, roundingly flat, but irregularly disposed faces, a deeper kind of "visible darkness," a "light" made more thoroughly "to counterfeit a gloom," in the tinge of blue and green reflected together upon all within †. But to descend in our

* Some Account, 9, 10.

† Leland's Itin. iv. 75: "One thing was to be noted in this castle," of Gloucestershire, "that *part* of the windowes of it were glased with berall;" viii. 32, "the *hawle* of Sudley "castle glased with rownd beralls," not beryl-crystals, called simply beryls by our lapidaries at times, because these are always columnar in their form, but actually beryl-gems; because the beryls of Sudeley castle are said expressly to be "rownd;" and because beryl-gems, though most commonly columnar like the crystals, are yet at times in the form of a round pebble. These gems are brought from India, from Peru, and from Silesia; the worst from the last. "The lord Sudeley that buildid the castle," says Leland, and thus accounts unconsciously for the beryls, "was a famous man of warre in king Henry 5. and king Henry 6.th "dayes,

our assimilation of manners, so as to come nearer to the level of a priory, we find even in 1669, and at the palace of Lambeth, the company that came early to dine with the archbishop were shewn into the gallery, and entertained themselves in it till the archbishop came, "when they all went down with him into the common hall, where "were divers bishops and persons of quality;—and—there was *a high* "*table* [which] went *across the upper end of the hall*, and *tables on each* "*side*, as in college-halls*." But this mode of dining every day in public began to be disused by some a few years before; grandeur retiring from the wearisome pomp of a dining-hall, to repose in the ease of a private eating-room; and at the earl of Worcester's, in the reign of the first Charles, but before the Rebellion, the gates of Ragland castle (that castle which is ever memorable for the gallant defence of it by this very nobleman afterwards) being shut at *eleven*, the tables were laid "two in "the *dining-room*" for my lord's family, his noble or his knightly guests, "and *three* in the *hall*" for inferior guests, gentlemen-waiters, or pages†. Such, therefore, were the original uses of this hall at the priory of St. German's; then not glazed indeed with beryls, but decorated with paintings, probably in the windows! It then was very large and ample in its dimensions, extending the whole length of the house behind; but it has since been curtailed in its proportions by the innovations of man-

"dayes, and was an admirall (as I have heard) on sea; whereupon it was supposed and "spoken, that it was partly," in the windows of the hall, "builded *ex spoliis Gallorum*" (iv. 75), or, as viii. 99, says more particularly, "Sudeley castle—was builded, as it is "there commonly spoken, *ex spoliis nobilium bello Gallico captorum.*" But beryls seem to have been more frequent formerly in this island than they are even at present. So, among the articles stolen from convents and churches by Henry VIII. and delivered to him all in *one* day, is "a *mounstrance* of silver and gilt, garnished with counterfeit stones, with two "great *glasses* of *birrall* in the middes, a small chest of reliques for showing them to the "people," and "another *mounstrance* silver and gilt, garnished throughout with great "*byrralls*," and "a *cup* of *byrrall* garnished with silver, and two *candlesticks* of *birrall* "garnished with silver." (Stevens's Additions to Monasticon, i. 85.) So, likewise, of the effects of the attainted sir Adrian Fortescue, is "a pair of *candlesticks* of *birral*, garnished "with silver." (Ibid. ibid. 84.)

* Arch. vi. 369, 370; and Wood's Life, 221, 222, in v. ii. of Lives of Leland, Wood, and Hearne, Oxford, 1772.

† Arch. vi. 370.

ners or the variations of taste, and has thus been reduced very considerably in its size.

The Dining Room.

On the northern side of that apartment is a smaller one, which, in an anticipation of modern refinement from the mere desire of religious sequestration, was afterwards made what it was very recently denominated, THE DINING-ROOM of the priory, now called the eating-parlour, with "a bow-window of ancient work" in it, at Mr. Willis's visit to the house. *That* room was apparently an original part of the priory, as the priory must always have had such an appendage to a mansion-house, for the reception of its whole family to dinner: but *this* was certainly constructed by bishop Bartholomew, when he converted the canons secular into regular canons; discarded the pomp of dining in public, so obliged them all to eat in one room, smaller in size, more retired in site, and wholly appropriated to themselves. It was accordingly remembered by an old man lately in that ancient condition, which the great hall must have once presented in its aspect, and which the hall of a college at Oxford still presents; a round grate for a fire stood in the middle, and the cupola for the discharge of smoke from it still shews its mouth in the ceiling, closed with a circular board painted. "One thinge I muche notyd in the haulle of Bolton," says Leland concerning that castle in Yorkshire, which was for so many years the prison afterwards of the injured Mary queen of Scots, "how chimneys were "conveyed by *tunnells made on the syds of the wauls bytwixt the lights in "the haull;* and *by this meanes*, and *by no covers*," that is, by no cupolas covering the vents in the roof, "is the smoke of the harth in the hawle "*wonder* [wonderous] *strangely convayed**." This is the first intimation in all our historical notices of our present chimnies; it is therefore very valuable in the history of manners, and for this reason we ought to ascertain the date of the chimney, if we are able to do so. We are able, even from our very informant, as we know the castle itself to have been built by "Richard lorde Scrope,—chauncelar of England in "Richard the 2. dayes—. It was a makynge xviii yeres, and the chargys

* Itin. viii. 19.

"of

" of the buyldynge cam by yere to 1000 marks *." The modern chimney, therefore, was first formed in England between the years 1377 and 1399. Yet whence was it derived into England? From Normandy beyond all doubt; it actually appears in Normandy within a hall erected before the Conquest, and used for a grand dining-room by the Conqueror while only duke of Normandy. " On the north sides" of the great guard-chamber, within the old palace of William at Caen, Dr. Ducarrel tells us in terms, but means assuredly both the north *and south* sides, " are two magnificent chimnies in good preservation †." Thus does our present disposition of chimnies appear, though Dr. Ducarrel passes over the evidence with an unnoticing pen, to have been practised even by the Normans prior to their descent upon our island; they of course brought the disposition with them; yet we do not find it used in any of our halls before the builder of Bolton castle copied it: even so late as 1540, Leland shews us in his admiration of the chimnies, that the disposition was then very rare in England, and not known by him to exist any where else. The disposition, in fact, was not adopted within our college halls, even nearly to our own times; and, in one of them at Oxford, actually to our own: all our halls there, though altered upon the plan of Bolton castle, that first-known house of the whole kingdom for lateral or tunnel chimnies, still shewing (like the dining-room at Port Eliot) that they had very lately none but the cupola chimney.

At the head of the dining-room was a raised platform of boards along the whole, with the bow-window above mentioned at the higher or northern end of the table, for receiving a sideboard into it: the bow-window is now destroyed, but some slight remains of its " ancient " work" are still visible on the wall without. And this sort of window, so frequent in the grander rooms of our ancestors, has been recently adopted by ourselves for the pleasing ornament of our own parlours or our own drawing-rooms ‡. In that window, says Mr. Willis, are " these arms in a—shield, viz. *argent, three bells, or,* which I conjec-

* Itin. viii. 13. † P. 59.

‡ It was formerly called a *compass*-window. See Leland's Itin. i. 107, &c.

"ture to have belonged to Robert Swimmer, last prior of this monas-"tery," and the only one that he knows, "in whose time this window "is supposed," by whom? "to have been glazed; and in all proba-"bility that part of the house built, and these arms then put up*." This "part of the house" was certainly built by bishop Bartholomew, and his arms are certainly to be expected in the window. Other arms, indeed, have been given him, but given by an author who has annihilated his own credit upon the point, by asserting his sepulchre to be in Exeter cathedral, and so leading us to suppose he saw the arms at it†; though *where* he died, or *where* he was buried, is utterly unknown‡. The arms naturally refer to the building, and the erector of this has a natural claim to those; they were his own family arms, I believe, and not united with the arms of his see, probably because he erected it, not from the revenues of his bishopric, but from the funds of his private fortune. This reason will account satisfactorily, I think, for omitting the arms of the see; and the omission we shall soon find repeated again, in the arms of an undoubted bishop painted upon this very window. Of bishop Bartholomew, therefore, we may with some improvements say justly, what Mr. Willis, in the mere temerity of ignorance, says of the only prior known, that the former is the man "in whose time this "window is supposed," on the best grounds of historical analogy, "to "have been" made and "glazed;" and not merely "in all probability," but clearly, certainly from the very conversion of the canons secular into regular canons, "that part of the house built, and these arms then "put up§."

The Portal. On the *western* side of this dining-room is what was denominated to the days of Mr. Willis THE PORTAL‖: it was the original portal of the priory, and actually formed the grand entrance into the house within

* Willis, 149, 150. † Izacke. ‡ Godwin, 403.

§ Willis, 149, 150: "In the dining-room, which you enter at the north side of the "great hall,—in a bow-window of ancient work, yet remain in painted glass—these "arms," &c.

‖ Willis, 149: "In the dining-room,—are several arms of the matches of the Eliots, "painted in the portal."

these

these few years; a flight of stone steps mounting from the court in front, and leading up to it. But, as the back-front has become the principal one, the steps have been removed, the doorway at the head of them has been turned into a window, and the portal has been transnominated into the saloon.

On the *eastern* side of the dining-room, and in the range of the eastern wing, was what has been lately rebuilt upon the old foundations, and is intended to be the best eating-parlour and the best drawing-room. In apartments of so modern an appellation, I believe, had the monks THAT COMMON DORMITORY, which bishop Bartholomew must have built at the same time with the dining-room, as he made it equally necessary with this to the completion of his new establishment. At the northern end of the wing, the prior is known from tradition to have had his lodgings; and, in forming a water-closet, a little without the dining-room, on the east, was found a passage to his cellar below, that had been long disused and at last forgotten. The monks, we may therefore presume, had their dormitory near, in what is intended to be the best eating-parlour, the southern end of the wing. But, as the nature of monastic dormitories is almost wholly unknown to us, and as our only dormitories at our great schools are somewhat different from these, let me give my readers a peep into one of them, that of Oseney abbey, near Oxford. "It was a long room, *divided into several parti-*
"*tions*," says Wood, in manuscript, from the records of the abbey; "in "every one of which [partitions] was a bed.—Every one had his bed to "himself, and that also *open at the feet towards the common passage*, "that the præfect, as he went by, might see whether each kept his "place—. After every one of them was reposed, *there was a candle* "*set up*, to burn for the most part of the night, or at least, to serve till "the time of performing their *nocturnes*—; the candle being lighted, "*the keys—were carried* to the præfect, or his vicar, by the servitour "belonging thereto, and *by him again* [the doors were] *at the appointed* "*time opened*; then each monk, receiving their summons to rise, *had* "*half an hour or thereabouts allowed them*, both in making up *themselves*

The Dormitory.

"and

"and *their beds* *." This gives us a full view into the inside of our own dormitory; even after it has ceased to exist. Yet let me add to the view in this little-explored region of antiquities, what may serve to complete it; that "the monks" at St. Austin's in Canterbury, had each of them only "a mat and a hard pillow to lie down upon, and a blanket or rug "to keep them warm;" that "they slept in their clothes, girt with girdles, "and thereby were" sure to suffer in their health, that they might be "al-"ways ready to attend their night-devotions †." But, as the dining-room was called in some monasteries the *fratria*, the *fratry*, or the *frayter-house*; so was it placed, as here, close to the *dortor*, as the dormitory was equally denominated. Thus "the fratery" at Canterbury, "in Mr. Som-"ner's manuscript-book called the fratria, was the refectory or dining-"room of the monks;" in 1547, the lead, timber, and other materials "of the late frater-house," were given to one of the new prebendaries for the erection of a prebendal house; and another prebendary received an assignment for his house, of the whole lodging "through the fratery "to the cloister, and all the fratery to the dortor-wall ‡."

The Parlour.

Just by this fratry, as we see from a drawing of the convent at Canterbury, made even in the twelfth century; was the LOCUTORIUM or PARLOIR §. This was a constant appendage to all our convents, and is at present to all abroad; the very original of *parlours*, in our own houses ‖. Yet it did *not*, as at first we are inclined to suppose it did, answer to the *common* or *combination* rooms now used in our colleges at Oxford and Cambridge; as *not* being the apartment in which the monks met

* Stevens's Additions to Monasticon, ii. 121.

† Battely, 96.

‡ Gostling, 175; so in Leland's Itin. iii. 119, the *fratery* at Glastonbury.

§ Gostling, 175.

‖ How old these are in our own houses, I know not; but see them in Leland, and suppose them not very old. In Itin. ii. 34, we read of "the maner-place of Ewelme," in Oxfordshire, that "the haul of it is fair, and hath great barres of iren overthuart it instede "of crosse beames; *the parler by*, is exceding fair and lightsum." In iii. 83, we find, that the genealogy of a family "be yn glass windows in a *parlow*, in the maner-place at Est "Lilleworth." And at Salisbury "bishop Beauchaump made the great haulle, *parler*, and "chaumbre of the palace." (iii. 97.)

together,

together, engaged in conversation, and displayed their learning, their liveliness, or their amiableness, in a free communion of souls. Society was not cultivated so much in those days, as in these; and that genial current of the soul, conversation, was generally frozen up by the cold rigours of discipline in monasteries. Even our *locutoria* in the universities, appear to be all extraneous to their original institutions, and in many of the colleges the very rooms are mere appendages to the original buildings. Yet the natural force of the current was so great, that it defied all the rigours at times, flowed on unarrested by the icy hand of this artificial winter, and vented itself into reservoirs very nearly similar to those in our colleges. We know the outbreak from the repulsion. "That *parliament*," says a rule in 1238, using for the intercourse a name peculiarly dignified in its sound to our ears at present, "which in "some cloysters of Benedictines *hath been accustomed* to be held *after* "*dinner*, is to be interdicted wholly *." The monastic parlour, indeed, was destined merely for any casual intercourse between one of the members of the society, and such of his relations or intimates as called upon him. This is evident from the monastery of Abingdon, which (like ours) had no cloyster, but "near the gate had *a room for a par-* "*lour*, in which the monks conversed with their acquaintances and "friends, if they happened to come †." Here we see the parlour "near the gate" at Abingdon, as we have previously seen it "just by "the fratry" at Canterbury; and these two positions unite to fix *our* parlour in the portal, at the door of the house, and by the side of the dining-room.

But canons regular were also obliged, like monks, to perform nightly offices of religion in the church. Their very appellation of regulars, indeed, resulted principally from their observance of the *regular hours*

* "Parliamentum, quod post prandium in quibusdam [Benedictinensium] claustris fieri "consuevit, penitus interdicatur." (Newcome's Hist. of St. Alban's Abbey, 134, 144, 536.)

† Monasticon, i. 98: "Nec habebant clausum—sicut nunc habent—pro claustro;— "habebant juxta portam domum pro locutorio, in quâ cum notis suis et amicis, si forte "venissent, loquebantur."

The Chapel. *of prayer* by *night* and by day ‡. Those hours were nine in the evening, twelve at night, three in the morning, and six. And as we have just seen the very canons of Oseney abbey, when laid in their beds, having "a candle set up" in the dormitory, "to burn for the most part of the "night, or *at least to serve* till the time of performing their *nocturnes;*" so we may further see the canons of Ely, "having just made their procession to church in the night, having just returned into their dormitory, "and a few of them just entered their beds," when the bell-tower fell down upon the quire §. This was therefore a performance, for which a common dormitory seems to have been almost equally calculated, as for the preclusion of matrimony. Yet the going for this purpose to the church, however near, must have exposed the persons of our canons dangerously, to winds, to rains, or to snows; thus aggravating a discipline already very severe, into a rigour intolerable in itself. For *this* reason, even that fond presumption, which hoped to raise the body in its *present* state, into a superiority over half the demands of nature; would be obliged to shrink a little in its views, to make its philosophy bend a little to sensation, and to form a CHAPEL within the priory for these devotions.

The original language of Italy has stamped itself in a thousand signatures, upon the languages Celtic and Teutonic of this island. The extension of the Roman victories, the diffusion of the Roman refinements, the conveyance of Christianity from Rome to the Britons, and the conveyance of it from Rome to the Saxons again; have all united to fix those signatures deeply on the present dialects of Britain. But the *language of religion* has them imprinted most deeply; every *appropriate* term in it being apparently Latin. Hence our *chapel* is only the *capella* of the Romans, is even their *capsella*, freed from the sibilating letter,

‡ Ingulphus, 500, speaking of some who came with him to the abbey, yet were "rigorem religionis abhorrentes," he adds; "hos omnes—ad orientalem partem monasterii "manere jussit—; fabricansque, illis ibidem capellam, *horas regulares* tam nocturnas quam "diurnas tempore quo monachi persolvebant, et ipsos persolvere jussit."

§ Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 643: "In nocte—factâ—processione—; et conventu in "dormitorium regrediente, vix paucis fratribus in lectalis ingressis."

and

and therefore signified originally a mere case for relics. Thus an ancient author mentions "a *silver* capella," or chapel, "*in which was a* "*portion of relics;*" as an ancient formulary orders some persons to swear, "upon the *chapel* of *sir* Martin," the shrine of a *saint* by the courtesy of some university in the collation of a bachelor's degree created a *knight* *. Such a shrine is described in the *tenth* century, as a "capsa" or case "of solid gold,—stored with the choicest relics, and "*modelled in the form* of a *chapel* †." But what was this form? It was merely the figure of our Saviour upon the cross, with relics reposited within the one or the other. A prelate of Ely, even as late as the reign of Stephen, carried with him in a journey "a very fine *chapel* which "was *taken out of the church:*" but was "a silver cross," made by Brithnod, the abbot in the *tenth* century, "on which the body of our "Saviour was, by an ingenious artifice, left hollow, to contain the relics "of the saints Vedastus and Amandus ‡." But the appellation of chapel soon ascended much higher, and fastened on all the other furniture of a "sacellum;" the principal communicating its own appellation to its subordinates. Thus Charlemagne is said in his will to have ordered his "*chapel*, that is, *his ecclesiastical ministery*, which came to him by "inheritance, to be preserved whole; excepting whatever he himself "had added to the same *chapel*, in *vessels* or in *books*, which who would "might buy §." From relics in a "sacellum," however, the emigrating

Moveable Chapels.

* Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 633: "Capsam cum dente S. Petri." Spelman's Glossary: "Evodius de Miraculis S. Stephani, lib. i. 'Capella argentea, in quâ erat reliquiarum "portio'." Marcul. lib. i. formul. 38: "Super capellam domini Martini."

† Spelman: "Ekkehardus junior, qui obiit anno 996;—'Capsa solidè aurea,—reliquiis "summis referta, in formam capellæ creata'." These "capsæ," or *cases*, were so finely engraved, that, as the word forms *chasse* in French for a shrine, so has the thing produced *enchasser* to *enchase*.

‡ Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 622, "Capellam optimam, quam—de ecclesiâ tulerat "[Nigellus];" and i. 606, "Crucem fecit argenteam,—in quâ forma corporis Christi, "ingenio artificis cavata, sanctorum reliquias Vedasti et Amandi continebat, quam Nigellus "episcopus de ecclesiâ asportavit."

§ Florentius, 284: "Capellam, id est ecclesiasticum ministerium, quod per hæreditatem "sibi venit, integrum servari decrevit; exceptis siqua ipse capellæ eidem in vasis aut libris "addidisset, quæ qui vellet emeret."

name very naturally passed to the "sacellum" itself, and so completed its progress. Durandus repeats with a tone of dubiousness from others, what is certainly true in itself, and highly to the honour of the parties, that "anciently in military expeditions, *a small room was formed in* "*a tent*," the general's tent, "and covered with goat-skins;" that "*within this was mass celebrated*, and *to this was the name of chapel* "*given* ‖." An incident of history, of early history, of our own, reduces this intimation into reality, and exhibits the reality in its full lustre. The great Alfred, in the *ninth* century, "commanded his *chap-* "*lains*," says Asser, his *cotemporary*, "to keep candles burning day "and night before *those holy relics* of many of GOD's elect, *which* "*always accompanied him wherever he went*; though the candles were "exposed to the blowing violence of winds, *through the thinness of the* "*tents* ¶." Here then we behold relics attendant upon the king, and attendant under the cover of a tent. But we find the evidence of Asser consummated, by a writer of the *fifteenth* century; Rudborne expressing the same command with greater brevity, yet with fuller explicitness, thus, "he placed a candle of twenty-four divisions in *his chapel* *." A most memorable event in the private life of Alfred, is thus explained *satisfactorily* for the *first* time. But we may illustrate it and our subject by more incidents of a similar quality. "Amberbachius testifies," cries an author who never thought of this application of the testimony, "that

‖ Spelman: "Durandus in Rationale, lib. iii. cap. 10:—'Sunt qui dicunt, quòd anti-"quitùs, in expeditionibus, in tentorio fiebant domunculæ de pellibus caprarum supertectæ, "in quibus missæ celebrantur, et inde capellæ nomen tractum est'." The ignorance of Durandus has given an inaccuracy to his language, thus made the "domunculæ" more than one within one pavilion, "in tentorio," and then derived "capella" ridiculously from "pellibus *caprarum*." But we see the object distinctly enough through the mist; and I have accordingly translated his "inde capellæ nomen tractum est," merely into what must be certainly included in the meaning, "to this was the name of chapel given," but not into all which is included, that "hence the very name of chapel was derived."

¶ Asser, 68: "Suos capellanos imperavit,—coram sanctis multorum electorum Dei "reliquiis, quæ semper eum ubique comitabantur,—ventorum violentiâ inflante—per—"tentoriorum tenuitates," &c.

* Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 208: "Posuit in capellâ suâ candelam viginti quatuor "partium."

"in

" in the monastery of St. Emeram he saw the *altar*, which Charles the " Great *carried about with him*, and *used in his tent*, upon his warlike " expeditions †." A prelate of Ely also was buried, in 1478, " with " torches, and horses, and *one horse* bearing his *chapel* with its *orna-* " *ments* and *furniture*," a small tent with its " furniture" of relics and an altar, as well as with candles, plate, and book for the " ornaments" of the latter ‡. A bishop of Durham also was buried in 1333, when for a burial-fee was claimed " *the chapel*, namely, the *horses* carrying the " *shrine*, the *wax-candles*, and the *rest* §." A second bishop of Durham was interred in 1359, when with greater explicitness the author mentions " two great horses bearing his body in a *litter*, and *one mule* " bearing his *chapel* ‖;" as in 1381, " the body" of a third " was " brought in a *chariot*," while " the *chapel*" still attended the procession ¶. And, to run back into a very early period of Saxon antiquity, Ina, king of the West-Saxons, in the seventh century, " caused a " *chapel* to be formed *of silver and gold*, with ornaments and vases " equally gold and silver; and *placed it within the great church*" of Glastonbury; " delivering *two thousand six hundred and forty pounds* of " *silver* for *forming the chapel*; as the *altar* was two hundred and sixty- " four pounds of gold, the *chalice* and *patin* of ten pounds of gold, the " *censer* eight pounds and twenty mancuses of gold, the *candlesticks* " twelve pounds and a half of silver, the *coverings of the books of the Gos-* " *pel* twenty pounds and sixty mancuses of gold, the *water-vessels* and

† Staveley's Hist. of Churches, 215, from " Vit. Amberbach, ad fin. Constitut. Car. " Magni."

‡ Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 673: " Cum torchis, et equis, et uno equo portante " capellam suam cum ornamentis et apparatu."

§ Ibid. i. 761: " Vendicabat sibi sacrista capellam, scilicet, equos feretrum deferentes, " ceram, et alia."

‖ Ibid. i. 766: " Duos magnos equos portantes corpus ejus in lecticâ, et unum equum " mulum portantem capellam."

¶ Ibid. i. 771, 772: " Veredam, Anglicè chariot, in quâ dicti episcopi corpus fuerat " deportatum,—imo et capellam." In explanation of carrying a corpse in a chariot, which may sound strange to the nice ear of criticism, let me remark, that the corpse was carried merely on the wheels of the carriage, the body being taken off; and that funerals of a superior sort, if coming from a distance, are thus conducted in Cornwall to this day.

"*other vases* of the altar seventeen pounds of gold;" water being even now used by the Papists and some Protestants of our own church, as it was equally used by the primitive church, to make the wine of the eucharist more truly wine—by the infusion of water, "*basins*" for the offertory "seven pounds of gold, *vase for the holy water* twenty pounds "of silver, *an image of our Lord and of the blessed Mary* and of *the* "*twelve apostles* a hundred and seventy-five pounds of silver and thirty-"eight pounds of gold," *the apostles being in silver, but our Lord and the Virgin Mary in gold,* "the *pall for the altar* and *the ornaments for the* "*priests* being artfully woven on both sides with gold and precious "stones*." This is such a chapel of relics as antiquity cannot parallel, for expensiveness of fabrication and costliness of decorations, worthy of the monarch that had it formed, and worthy of the church to which he gave it. Thus did the Latin appellation for a case of relics gradually extend itself to what it always accompanied, the moveable "sacellum" of a king or a bishop in their travels, the portable and private "ark "of GOD dwelling within curtains†." Thus too it came to fix finally upon those "ecclesiolæ" of stone, which were erected for oratories and tomb-houses at greater churches, or were attached as oratories merely to palaces, to priories, and to mansion-houses; *because* these were, equally with those, the repositories of relics.

How soon these chapels began to be built, who can pretend to ascertain? Facts alone must do this, and let facts therefore do it. Bishop

* Gale, i. 310, 311: "Fecit etiam idem rex construere quandam capellam ex auro et "argento, cum ornamentis et vasis similiter aureis et argenteis; ac infra" for *intra* "majorem [ecclesiam] collocavit. Ad capellam itaque construendam duo millia et sexcenta et "quadraginta libras argenti donavit, et altare ex ducentis et sexaginta quatuor libris auri erat, "calix cum patenâ de x libris auri, incensarium de viii libris et xx mancis auri, candelabra "ex xii libris et dimidio argenti, coopertoria librorum Evangelii de xx libris et lx mancis "auri, vasa aquaria et alia vasa altaris ex xvii libris auri, pelves de viii libris auri, vas ad "aquam benedictam ex xx libris argenti, imago Domini et Beatæ Mariæ et duodecim apos-"tolorum ex centum et lxxv libris argenti et xxxviii libris auri, palla altaris et ornamenta "sacerdotalia undique auro et lapidibus pretiosis subtiliter contexta."

† "See now," cries the dignified because devout David, "I dwell in an house of cedar, "but the ark of GOD dwelleth within curtains." 1 Sam. vii. 2.

Symon,

Symon, of Ely, died in 1344, and was buried at Ely in *the new chapel of St. Mary*, before "the altar of the same chapel, on the fabric of "which he had laid out very great sums ‡;" as Crandene, a prior of Ely, who died in 1341, "caused to be erected at the prior's lodging *a new* "*chapel* of wonderful beauty §." That new chapel we find mentioned as the old, a few years before; when one, who became bishop of Ely in 1290, and sat seven years, was buried "on the south side of the "church, between the two pillars near the high altar, at the entrance "of *the old chapel of St. Mary* ‖." We here see a chapel by name attached to the cathedral, attached even to the prior's lodging, so early at Ely! But much earlier, even in or about 1133, St. Etheldred, the founder and patroness of the church at Ely, was said to have been "seen praying in *a certain chapel*" of her own church, "holding the "psalter in one hand and a wax-candle lighted in the other ¶." Only a few years later we find two chapels more in the church of Ely, called Chetesham and Dounham, and one in the very infirmary of the priory *. About 1130, Malmesbury mentions "the chapel of St. Andrew," "the "chapel of the Holy Trinity," and "the chapel of St. Martin," each of which is denominated an "ecclesiola" by another author in the Monasticon; and as having given the names of Andrewesie, of Godney, and of Martenesie, to the isles on which they respectively lay, within the jurisdiction of Glastonbury †. Bishops, we may be sure, had chapels

Permanent Chapels.

‡ Gale, i. 652: "Sepultus est apud Ely in novâ capellâ S. Mariæ, coram altare ejusdem "capellæ, circa cujus fabricam sumptuosas fecit expensas."

§ Ibid. i. 649: "Fabricari fecit ad hospitium prioris novam capellam mirandi decoris."

‖ Ibid. i. 639: "Ex parte australi ecclesiæ, inter duas columpnas juxta magnum altare, "ad introitum veteris capellæ B. Mariæ."

¶ Ibid. i. 618: "B. Etheldreda visa fuit orare in quâdam capellâ, in unâ manu psalte-"rium tenuit, in aliâ vero cereum accensum."

* Ibid. i. 633: "In ecclesiâ Elyensi—calices—, quorum unus fuit in capellâ infirmo-"rum,—unus in capellâ de Chetesham, et alius in capellâ de Dounham."

† Ibid. i. 330: "Andreweseie—sic cognominatur a Sancto Andrea, cujus ibidem "habetur capella, sicut et Godeniæ propter capellam Sanctæ Trinitatis, et Marteneseie a "Sancto Martino, cujus ibidem est capella." Monasticon, i. 2: "Ecclesiola de Sanctâ "Trinitate," "ecclesiolam Sancti Andreæ," "ecclesiolam Sancti Martini." Hence Godney appears to be more truly denominated Godney, and the vulgar prove better etymologists than the learned.

at

at their palaces, as we have seen a prior have one at his lodging. Accordingly Walkelin, who died bishop of Winchester in 1098, is noticed "as often as he celebrated the solemn service of the mass in *his* "*chapel at Winchester*, to have had a deacon and subdeacon from the "monastery ‡." Kings also had their chapels, as Edgar is attested to have "given out of *his chapel* cases and philateries" of relics, "with "the relics of some saints §." We have even seen chapels to large churches before, under the appellation of porticoes; as early as the days of Bede, as early as the days of Eddius ‖. And in a charter given by Ina, but recited by Malmesbury, we find even the rural chapels in the jurisdiction of Glastonbury, mentioned as early as 725; the charter forbidding the bishop to fix his episcopal chair, or to do any official act, without invitation from the abbot, "in the very church of "Glastonbury, or in *the churches subject to it*,—or *in their chapels* ¶." Chapels, therefore, are very old among us, were very early denominated "ecclesiolæ," or little churches, by our ancestors, and in their origin are nearly as old as our churches themselves.

Such an *ecclesiola* we know to have been formed in St. German's priory; as tradition says it contained that very series of paintings, which ranges along the side of the new room called the gallery. These are paintings finely executed, though not artfully designed; not sufficiently attentive to the principles of perspective, but very pleasing to the eye of a surveyor, from the lively brilliancy of their colours, very affecting to the mind of a religious man, from the sacred nature of their subject, and very striking to the imagination of an antiquary, from their age. The series comprehends the venerable history of our Saviour's life,

‡ Wharton, i. 296: "Quoties celebrabat missarum solemnia in capellâ suâ Winto-"niensi, diaconum et subdiaconum monachos habebat."

§ Ibid. i. 604: "Dedit—de suâ capellâ capsides et philateria, cum nonnullorum sanc-"torum reliquiis."

‖ See ii. 3, preceding.

¶ Gale, i. 312: "Ne in ipsam Glastoniæ ecclesiam, nec in ecclesiis sibi subditis,—nec "in earum capellis." See also Edgar's charter in Monasticon, i. 16, as fuller still, yet less true.

from his nativity to his crucifixion, in fourteen tablets, twelve on boards and two on canvass. The late lord's aunt was actually offered five hundred pounds for them; and, as an ancient monument of the art of painting, they are (I suppose) much more valuable. They are, however, beginning now to chip with age; and may well do so, though they were preserved with all attention by my lord, being hung upon a southern wall, on each side of a large fire-place, well supplied with fuel. Their age we *know* to be prior to the Reformation, and they are *certainly* more than two hundred and fifty years old. But what is their certain age to their probable? Upon every principle of historical probability, we must refer them to a much earlier date, to the days of bishop Bartholomew, the founder of the chapel, and consequently the decorator of it. Thus they are more than six hundred years old; the oldest set of paintings, I presume, in the whole kingdom. Yet that antiquity which gives such a dignity to them, requires they should be preserved by being copied; and the present lord will have them copied, I hope, before the very vividness of the colouring has proved perfidious to the duration of it, or age has robbed the paintings of more of their original lustre. But the chapel, which they so richly decorated, is pointed out by the finger of tradition to have been in the body-end of the eastern wing, between what are reported to have been the lodgings of the prior, and what I suppose to have been the dormitory of the monks, upon what is now shrunk up into a narrow passage, betwixt the best drawing-room and the best eating-parlour, yet terminates in a window with an open pavilion to the *east* *.

These

* Mr. Willis, in a gross barbarism of taste, has omitted all mention of these paintings, and in a gross unfeelingness of antiquarianism, all designation of the rooms occupied by the chapel, the dormitory, the parlour, or the portal of this priory. I had originally recommended the care of the paintings above to the late lord, and to his oldest son; many months before the premature and sudden decease of him who was characterized by me as "the "singularly worthy heir" of the late lord, the honourable Edward James Eliot, in September 1797. But though I could not leave this to remain in the text, I cannot but recite it in a note, as the strongest signature of my respect for the memory of a person, whom every good husband and every good man must long continue to respect; who, by the indulgence of habitual sorrow for the loss of a beloved wife, had contracted such a tendency to spasms in

These were the parts of the priory, which bishop Bartholomew must have constructed, when he introduced canons regular into it in the room of the secular before; when he therefore compelled them to eat together in one dining-room, to sleep together in one dormitory, and to pray together every third hour of the night in one chapel. Such constructions undoubtedly form a very considerable portion of the priory. The bishop was accordingly considered, on account of them, and of his establishment of monkery in them, to stand in the very relation of Athelstan to the priory, to supersede indeed the honour of Athelstan in founding it, and to rank as the very founder himself. "There was here," says Leland from the records of the priory, "an episcopal see in the time of "Ethelstan, which was afterwards transferred to the church of Exeter "by St. Edward the Confessor-king; and afterwards Bartholomew, "then bishop of Exeter, here *founded* a monastery of regular canons*." *His* arms therefore were sure to be painted, if any were, in the bow-window of the dining-room. Nor let me rest my general reference of these arms to the personal constructor, upon any notions however common in themselves, upon any principles however apparent of good sense. Let me appeal to authority, because in antiquarianism, as in law, authority is considered to be of more weight than reason, even the authority of the first of our English antiquaries, Leland; who says bishop "Skirlaw made all or a peace of the lanterns at York minster,—"for there *be his armes sette* †." Skirlaw's own historian says accordingly: "he built a great *part* of—what is vulgarly called the lantern, at

in the heart, according to the accounts of his physicians, as made him at last a martyr to that best of all earthly loves, the conjugal; but who, still more to the honour of his head and of his heart, confessed privately to a friend many years before his death, even in the first paroxysms of his sorrow, that he could find no relief from it *except in the Book of* God. "Vivat post funera virtus!" May such virtue still live in the remembrance of the religious, as live it certainly does and will in the unperishing records of God!

* Leland's Coll. i. 75: "Fuit tempore Ethelstani sedes episcopalis, quæ postea per S. "Edwardum Confess. regem translata fuit ad ecclesiam Exoniensem. Et post B. tunc "episcopus Exon. hic fundavit monaster. canon. regularium."

† Itin. viii. 9.

"York:

"York minster; *in the middle of which work*, he *placed his arms* ‡." In the "bow-window" also "yet remain, in—painted glass," says Mr. Willis, concerning his own time, "the arms of Arundel, viz. *six* "*martlets or*, quartering Carminow, *azure, a bend or.*" These belong to John Arundel, the very builder of the ancient parsonage at St. Columb, who was made bishop of Exeter in 1502, and died in 1504 §. He was, as I have noticed before ‖, of the Arundels of Lanhern in Cornwall, and his great-grandfather John had married Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of sir Oliver Carminow, knight. His own private arms only are exhibited, just as I have noticed those of bishop Bartholomew to be before; just also as those of bishop Skirlaw are upon the lantern at York, six rods interlacing one another in the shape of a sieve *; and just as those of archbishop Sudbury, sable a talbot seiant within a border engrailed argent, with those of another benefactor not known by them now, a text M crowned or, on a cross azure, are still seen in a window of the chapter-house at Canterbury ¶; for one and the same reason, their construction of these respective buildings out of their private fortunes. The bishops of Exeter indeed might naturally consider themselves as officially the patrons of St. German's priory, from the refounding of it by one of their predecessors in the see. Yet this alone could not have produced a *selection* of bishops, to be recorded upon glass. It could still less have produced so *scanty* a selection. It could, least of all, have marked the persons of this selection by their *private* arms. The distinguishing though frail memorial for bishop Arundel, therefore, was occasioned by the same principle as bishop Bartholomew's own was; and the honour was paid

Coats of Arms.

‡ Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 775: "Hic—magnam partem vulgò lanterii, ministerii "Eboracensis construxit; in medio cujus operis, arma sua posuit."

§. Willis, 149, 150; and Godwin, 415. He had the custody of the temporalities, 22 Feb. 1501, that is, 1501-2, and the investiture of them, 5 July 1502. He died 15 March 1503, that is, 1503-4.

‖ See vi. 1.

* Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 775. Skirlaw built, besides the lantern at York, a great part of the cloyster at Durham, &c. "De quibus omnibus ædificiis arma sua, viz. 6 virgas "vicissim flexatas in formâ cribri, imposuit." This kind of bearing, in the mystical language of heraldry, is called *fretty*.

¶ Gostling, 399.

to beneficence, by gratitude. Arundel was a benefactor to the priory, in rebuilding probably some part of the original structure, that had now grown ruinous; and so was commemorated in this ever-open, ever-legible book of benefactors. But, as he died in two years after his coming to the see, he assuredly did not live to perfect what he had begun; and his immediate successor, Hugh Oldham, who died in 1519, completing the work for him, became entitled to a pane with him in this perishing register of honour. Hence we have in the bow-window "likewise," adds Mr. Willis, "the arms of this priory, as I "suppose, being ..... *a sword and two keys endorsed in saltire* "....., impaling Ouldham, bishop of Exeter (as I judge by the "mitre over it), *sable, a cheveron or, between three owls proper, on a* "*chief of the second three roses gules* *." Mr. Willis mistakes the impaling arms for those of the priory, when the mitre shews them to be those of the bishopric. They are indeed a little different from the present arms of the see; the sword of these being in *pale* or placed erect, and of *those* in *saltire* or placed oblique. But the priory-arms have been accidentally discovered, since Mr. Willis wrote; where the difference between them and his appears much greater. In digging among the ruins of the chancel a few years ago, along with the seat for a stall was found a rounded piece of oak, black in colour, but about fourteen inches and a half in length, with two feet in circumference; charged with a sword and one key in saltire. This was one of the two pillars at the sides of the stall, being fluted in front, yet flat at the back, having all its original length, and therefore shewing the sword with the key about the *middle* of it. It hence appears, as the very existence of arms on such an object witnesses, a pillar to the stall of the prior; the only member of a monastery also, as I have shewn before, who sat in the chancel †. Thus we have three stalls of stone in the cathedral of Rochester, *one* of which is *marked by the arms of the see* to be the *bishop's* ‡. The arms then of "a sword and *two keys* endorsed in sal-"tire," impaling what are *certainly* the arms of Oldham, as they are equally displayed in stucco over the chimney-piece of a room, that was

* Willis, 150. † See iii. 3, before. ‡ Arch. x. 267.

formerly

formerly the principal part of the president's lodgings in a very respectable college at Oxford, to which Oldham was equally a benefactor, even CORPUS CHRISTI, that

Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix;

and are again displayed upon the tomb of the bishop, in the cathedral of Exeter; unite with the mitre to shew Oldham was bishop of Exeter, and to tell he was a benefactor to the priory. The arms of Sudbury, the archbishop, appear on the eastern side, and the arms of the archbishopric on the western, of a door in the chapter-house leading into the cloysters at Canterbury *. And as to the sword with two keys endorsed in saltire, however unnoticed the incident has hitherto been by the crowd of our heraldrical or local writers, they were certainly the arms of the see down to the death of Oldham †.

We thus lend an historical consequence to these arms in the bow-window of the dining-room; yet give them only as much as the arms on the stucco or in the windows of our colleges at Oxford, and the arms on the windows, the doors, or the stalls, at Canterbury, or at York, are known to have. We even find there were arms on the same principle, within the church of St. German's; the benefactors to *it* being recorded at *it*, in the same manner. "There yet remain," adds Mr. Willis, concerning the church of his time, but without the slightest application of the fact to history, so much quicker is the eye than the intellect in most persons! "some arms in the windows, with carvings on the seats, "particularly of Stafford and Courtney, bishops of Exeter; and the "aforesaid arms, viz. a sword and two keys endorsed in saltire, pre-"sumed to be those of the priory, are frequently repeated ‡." Peter Courtney was made bishop of Exeter in 1478, and Edmund Stafford in 1395 before §. These must both of them have been considerable benefactors to the church, and therefore had their memories preserved within it in this emblematical manner. They probably were the repairers of the church, in two important points. The roof of the nave, as I

* Gostling, 399, 400.
† Tanner's Notitia by Nasmith, p. xxix.
‡ Willis, 152.
§ Godwin, 414 and 412.

 have

have formerly observed, was *all* carved originally, and still remains so from the western end to the fourth pillar eastward. This shews the roof to have been repaired, and with less than royal munificence, at some late period. But there has been a renewal in an adjoining part of the church, still more remarkable. The three next arches to the east, but on the south, are more ornamented than the four to the west, the curves of them are less sharp, the pillars are of a slenderer bulk, and the stone of Tarton Down is suddenly exchanged for moorstone. Tradition also tells to the present day, of some grand reparation made of these arches of the church, it knows not when, but in consequence of some destruction, it knows not what. These renovations of the church, therefore, appear to correspond with the suggestions of the arms, and to shew Stafford, to shew Courtney, thus recorded on account of these renovations. But the same arms appeared with carvings upon some seats, if we consider the words of Mr. Willis in a sense strictly grammatical; or, in that laxer sort of interpretation, which alone (I believe) is suited to his loose mode of writing, carvings appeared without any arms; to mark some *one* seat with distinction, and to make it considered by Mr. Willis as erected by one of these bishops. One accordingly remains, and only one, when the arms of the windows have vanished with their glass; a tall, large, antique pew in the *parochial*, and *not* the *priory*, part of the church, the chancel of the old cathedral, worked all over with carvings, once the seat of the rector assuredly, then that of the steward of the rectory, and *therefore* that of the lessee of the rectory at present. But the arms of the see we find "a sword and two "keys indorsed in saltire," were "frequently repeated" in the windows. These windows, like that seat, must have been in the parochial part of the church; as (except a skylight recently opened) there are no windows in the priory part, either large or lightsome enough to receive any painting of arms upon them. The very windows therefore concur with the evidence before, to prove the arms were emblazoned upon them, as the ensigns of the bishopric, and not of the priory. And the latter arms combine with the former, to shew those of Courtney and of Stafford were, what we have seen episcopal arms twice before to be, merely the private and family arms of those bishops; yet to indicate their episcopal dignity,

dignity, by their episcopal arms repeated on the windows. So, at Canterbury, "in the great western window of the chapter-house, are "four shields supported by angels, which are evidently intended to "commemorate the builders of the nave, cloisters, and chapter-house;" one, Sudbury's, another unknown, "the third, Courtney, the fourth, "Arundel—. The same arms," Sudbury's, "and those of Courtney "and Arundel are often repeated in the vaulting of the nave, the "chapter-house, and cloister*."

Coats of arms were originally the cognizance of military men alone. But war becoming what it is dreadful to think, the general profession of man, the chief object of his passions, and the principal ground of his glory; these cognizances grew so extensive in their use, and so honourable in their nature, that all the professions of peace itself, the lawyers, the physicians, even the very clergy, took up the symbols of war, either as private persons or as public functionaries, to mark their pride of family, or to shew their dignity of office. Hence priors and bishops had their coats of arms, equally with warriors themselves. Such a practice would be sure to arise soon, upon the general use of such badges; and, as the badges have already appeared to be very ancient, the practice must be ancient too. *Those* I have proved to have been long prior to the Conquest, and *this* seems to be also prior; the arms upon the oaken pillar being probably as old as the stall, as the very chancel itself, and consequently coæval with Athelstan, the constructor of both. Hence Bartholomew, the bishop of Exeter, so early as 1161, could have his arms put up in the bow-window of that dining-room, which he erected for his regular canons; as a signature of his erection of it. Hence also we find the prior of Bodmin retaining to the Reformation those arms of his office, which must originally have been assumed by his predecessors, *when* the church had equally a prior and a bishop; prior Vivian, who died in 1533, appearing to this day in the church with these "the arms of the prior," upon his tomb, "in a field St. Pedyr "[St. Petrock] *sitting in his chair or throne of state* proper, with *his*

* Gostling, 399, 400.

"*crosier*

"*crosier in his hand* and *mitre on his head*;" arms, evidently those of the bishopric at first, as evidently those of the priory afterwards, and still remaining as both, with a little variation, the arms of the town at present *. The prior of St. German's, in the same mode of acting as his younger brother of Bodmin, adopted the arms of the bishopric for the arms of the priory, and continued the use of them probably after the seat of the bishopric was removed to Exeter. The removed bishop also, like the town of Bodmin, retained the arms of both with a little variation; doubling the keys to signify the double sees, indorsing them to make them more distinguishable, but still keeping the sword in *saltire* with them; and having *erected* the sword since, to discriminate the whole perhaps from the nearly similar arms of Winchester see.

Malmesbury intimates concerning the regular canons of Exeter, as I have noted before, that their strict discipline, "in the luxuriousness of "the times, has been in some degree relaxed;" by permission probably to the canons, under pretence of sickness, to sleep and to eat occasionally in other apartments. There must therefore have been an INFIRMARY for them, in the priories of Exeter and St. German's; at which they were discharged from the nightly offices of devotion in the chapel, and even indulged with better dishes of meat. To gain such an indulgence, and such a discharge, under such a severity of discipline; pretences would naturally be made of sickness, often. But, with such a severity, nature would frequently furnish a just plea, and sickness visit their macerated bodies in reality. What their prescribed rate of living was, we know too well in general. Yet it may be requisite just to mention one or two circumstances in it, to fix the whole more livelily on our minds, and to repress for ever that wanton impotence of prejudice, which at one time is looking down with pity on the pious absurdity of monks, in denying themselves the common comforts of life, yet at another is flourishing in gay sarcasms upon the luxuriousness of their lives, the "pontificum "cœnæ" of a monastery †.

The Infirmary.

Bread,

* Hals, 20 and 19.

† The common topic of invective against monkish luxury, among the more literary inveighers, is one lent by Giraldus Cambrensis, that professed foe to the monks: "De "ferculis

Bread, that great corrector of all the humours of the body occasioned by animal food, that principal supporter of human life, in any form of feeding,

" ferculis, et eorum numerositate, quid dicam," he cries concerning the monks of Canterbury, " nisi quod ipsum [Giraldum] multoties dicentem audivi; quia sedecim aut plura per " ordinem—sunt apposita, valde sumptuosa." Even if this account be just as a censure, it applies only to the members of *one* monastery. Yet what were these dishes? Only of fish, dressed in various manners. " *Tot* enim videas," he adds, " *piscium* genera, assa quidem et " elixa, farta et frixa, tot *ovis* et pipere cibaria cocorum arte confecta, tot sapores et salsamenta " ad gulam irritandam et appetitum excitandum eorundem arte composita;" to subdue the natural insipidity of fish, and by variations of cookery to multiply one dish into many. So far the intended censure is refuted by the facts themselves. Nor is the *eating* luxurious, even in this richly endowed monastery. But perhaps the *drinking* is; for, as Gervase goes on, " ad " hæc etiam in tantâ abundantiâ vinum hic videas et siceram, *pigmentum*," a mixture of wine, honey, and spices, " et *claretum*," is not this the earliest mention of claret in all history? " mustum et medonem atque *moretum*," what liquor? mulberry wine? " atque " omne quod inebriare potest; adeo ut cerevisia, qualis in Angliâ fieri solet optima, et " præcipuè in Cantiâ, locum inter cetera non haberet." This seems a formidable arrangement of liquors upon the table of a monk. But it is not so formidable as it seems. Even Giraldus pretends not to notice any *abuse* made of these liquors by the monks. And the day was a high festival, even Trinity Sunday, the very *name-day* of the church itself; in which *abstemiousness* might innocently indulge, and even *self-denial* should in reason relax into some luxury. Such indeed are the rules, by which the most self-denying and most abstemious always act in the world, of which reason suggests the theory, and in which innocence approves the execution! On such a day, therefore, and with such a practice, the liquors appear not too luxurious, and the dishes even seem to *want variety*. Yet the mode of a monk's living is to be estimated, not from what it may have been occasionally upon a festival, but from what it was regularly and ordinarily through the year. Take then " a short bill " of fare" for *this very monastery*, " such as was allowed" by the standing orders of the house: " to every *two* monks, when they had soles, there were *four* soles in a dish; when " they had plaise, *two* plaise; when they had herrings, *eight* herrings; when they had " whitings, *eight* whitings; when they had mackrels, *two* mackrels; and when they had " eggs, *ten* eggs; if they any thing *more* allowed them *beyond*" this " *their ordinary fare*, " it was either *cheese*, or *fruit*, or *the like*." (Battely, 96.) Go now, thou sneerer at the luxury of monks, and sit down with them to thy banquet of five eggs or of one mackrel for dinner.

I nunc, et tecum musas meditare canoras.

" Quid autem," as Giraldus goes on in a strain of impertinent interrogation, " ad hæc " Paulus Eremita diceret?" &c. &c. &c. Such arguments would preclude all possibility of a feast; they, therefore, can never prove the luxuriousness of any. Sensible of this, I suppose, the author comes to an anecdote, that fashionable supplement for a reason at present.

feeding, was dispensed to the monks in angular pieces, denominated *cantles*. These however were halves of loaves; as the lepers of Mary Magdalen, in Reading, had every day from the abbey there, "a *cantle*, "containing half a loaf of bread *," half of such small round loaves as are still common in our colleges at Oxford. From this application of the word, Shakespeare makes Percy to say of the Trent;

> See how this river comes me, crankling in,
> And cuts me from the best of all my land,
> A huge *half-moon*, a monstrous *cantle* out.

Even lately the parishioners of Childrey, near Wantage, in Berkshire, having been long in the habit of eating and drinking upon one day in the year, within the house of the rector; this feast of bread and cheese, as I believe it to have been, was popularly entitled Childrey *cantle* †.

sent. "Monachi S. Swithuni Wintoniæ," he tells us, "cum priore suo coram Anglorum "rege Henrico II. ad terram *in luto prostrati*, cum *lacrimis* et *luctu* conquesti sunt ei, "quod eorum episcopus Ricardus, *quem et loco abbatis habebant*, tria eis fercula subtraxerat." The tale, we see, is recited in an invidious style of aggravation. It thus loses much of its weight. Nor is it possible to be true as related. The bishop was not the abbot, and so could not cut off any dishes as abbot. About two centuries before, an abbot had been appointed by the bishop himself, even by the very bishop who changed the clergymen of the church into monks; "Ethelwoldus, canonicis expulsis, monachos posuit, præficiens eis abbatem "Edgarum nomine." (Malmesbury, f. 140.) Yet the author proceeds with his story thus: "et cùm rege inquirente quot eis remanserant, responderent decem, quoniam ab antiquo "tredecim habere consueverant; et ego, inquit rex, in curiâ meâ *tribus ferculis con-* "*tentus sum*;" a position so apparently false in itself, as unites with the utter incredibility of the complaint, and the certain falsehood of the inference, to fix a brand of reprobation on the whole for ever. With such ingenuity of malice, such sophistry of reasoning, and such forgery of facts, have the monks been condemned for luxuriousness of living by Giraldus! And with such inattention to the forgery, to the sophistry, or to the malice, has the passage been cited, referred to, or hinted at, by the enemies of monks for a century past! See the passage in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, ii. 480. But we shall now hear of it no more, I believe.

* Monasticon, i. 419: "Singuli cantelli dimidium panis habentes."

† So in a pamphlet of 1636, we read "not so much as a *cantle of cheese* or crust of bread." (Shakespeare, viii. 493, note.) This custom had been so long observed as a kindness from the rector, that it was at last demanded as a right by the parishioners. These even proceeded to such lengths of violence, as to burst open and beat down the door of the parsonage, when barred against them, on the accustomed day. The rector of course appealed to the law, and the law abolished the intrusion by commuting the charity. A punster therefore exclaimed that the rector had made the parishioners "recinere *cantilenam*."

Childewic,

Childewic, which was given to St. Alban's abbey by Aildwin and his wife Ailfleda, under the license and at the persuasion of king Ethelred, says M. Paris, "as both the king and the givers interpreted the name, "derived it from the children, because the land was bestowed to pro- "vide food for those younger monks, who were to be kept upon a milk "diet ‡." With this they were allowed the use of flesh-meat at times. So far the discipline of a monastic table was like some of our own, sober, just, and mild. But the affectation of rigour prevailing as powerfully then, as the ambition of indulgence predominates now; this mildness was soon changed into harshness. Paul the abbot, as Mr. Newcome tells us, between the years 1077-1093, "made many regulations in the "diet of the monks, restraining them from immoderate use of flesh- "meat, and causing them to live on pickled herrings;" then (as a note subjoins) "called by the Normans *karen-pie* §." But the harshness was not at all what Mr. Newcome makes it to be; being confined to the *younger* monks entirely, and therefore *more* harsh; but not restraining them merely to "pickled herrings," and therefore *less* unkind; nor yet forbidding them "the *immoderate* use of flesh-meat," acting even with higher rigour, and forbidding *all* use of it. "To the *young* "monks," as Paris really tells us, "who, *acccording to their custom*, "lived upon *pasties* of *flesh-meat*," a food very common with the richer labourers in Cornwall to this day, "he prevented all inordinate eating" by stinting the quantity; "and he heaped up a dish for them all in "common, of which the mere appellation remains at present, made of "herrings and *sheets of cakes*," or, in other words, of herrings under covers of pastry, which was *therefore* "called by the Normans," that is, by Paul himself, the institutor, the first Norman abbot of St. Alban's, "haren-*pie*," or, as Paris himself says more precisely, "which *he*, in "the sophistical pronunciation of the Normans, denominated car-*pie* for

The diet of monks.

‡ M. Paris, 1002: "Sicut tam rex quàm datores interpretati sunt, a pueris trahit locus "vocabulum, quia ad alimenta monachorum juniorum lacticiniis alendorum conferebatur, "unde et Childewica nuncupatur." He also mentions "aliud vacasterium, quod antiquitus "Childel-angeleia vocabatur."

§ P. 49.

"karen-*pie**." When such rigour was exercised upon the palate of the young, more (we may be sure) was exerted upon that of the manly and middle ages of life. These accordingly lived almost entirely upon fish. We indeed, in our use of fish at times only, or with rich sauces, or as introductory to flesh-meat, are apt to smile at statutes or canons enjoining us to *fast* upon *fish*. But to eat fish alone, to eat it almost continually, to eat it too as robbed of all its nutritious juices by age, as only preserved from putrefaction by being embalmed in salt; we should think the most painful of fasts. Yet, as Paris tells us, abbot William of St. Alban's, in the reign of John, "bought a house at Yarmouth, "for storing fish, and particularly herring, when bought up at "the proper season; to the invaluable advantage and honour of St. "Alban's house: and made to it also an expensive addition †." Thus was the young monk trained up to the almost constant use of herrings as a man, by being kept upon herring-pies as a child. Pies indeed of all sorts seem to have been formerly more frequent upon our tables than they are at present. Pies of fish, particularly, appear to have been very fashionable formerly; as the twenty-four pies or pasties of the first fresh herrings, sent by Norwich every year to the king, according to charter, very significantly shew us. These are now eaten, I believe, by the very menials in the royal kitchen. Even in Cornwall, where the use of pies is so generally preserved, that the English have marked the natives in derision, as men who would put the devil in a pie, if they could catch him; where even fish-pies are sometimes eaten in the parlour, and often in the kitchen; I, who have naturalized my appetite, as a

* Paris, 1003: "Minutis—, qui de suâ consuetudine pastillis carneis vescebantur, esus "subtraxit inordinatos, et, pro carne, de allece et liborum cedulis," *cedulis* for *schedulis*, as *schedule* is occasionally pronounced *cedule* at present, "congestum, quoddam ferculum "(cujus solum remansit nomen) ipsis in communi cumulavit; quod more Normanorum "*karpie*, quasi *karenpie*, sophisticè nominavit." Mr. Newcome did not understand the "liborum cedulis," and therefore omitted it entirely, though so requisite to the explanation of his own "haren-pie."

† Paris, 1057: "Comparavit—unam domum apud Gernemutham, ad piscem et præ-"cipuè alec, in tempore opportuno comparatum, reponendum; ad inæstimabilem domûs "S. Albani utilitatem et honorem: cui etiam sumptuosam addidit emendationem."

foreigner, to almost all the peculiar dishes of the country, have never been able to relish a pie of fresh fish, and never attempted to taste what is not uncommon among the labourers or servants, a pie of salted pilchards. Yet salted herrings, in pies or out of them, we see, were the standing dishes of the monk; mocking his appetite with a fare unsubstantial, unpleasing, unnourishing; and fixing our national disease, the scurvy, in full tyranny over his frame. Thus was all flesh banished from his table, and interdicted to his palate, from the years of childhood to the very verge of life! No rest, no respite was allowed to health or strength, except at Christmas, Easter, or the festival of the abbey's saint, when fowls, eggs, and pork were allowed ‡; or *in occasional visits to the infirmary.*

Where then, in the priory of St. German's, was the infirmary of it? It was, I suppose, at the western end of the building, in what appears to have been an *addition* to the rest, as it did not line behind with the back-front of the building, but receded considerably from it, and then pushed forward to form a western wing to the whole. In this was a narrow passage, along the northern side of what is now the gallery; which ran along the side beyond the present fire-place, and, by a low door, still remaining there, communicated with a structure as long as the gallery, now forming my lord's bed-room to the east, my lady's dressing-room to the west, and a small room of communication between them. The passage and the door unite to shew, that the structure was formerly entered as it now is, in the middle room; having, as it now has, a room to the right and left of this. There then the invalids, real or pretended, of the priory, I suggest, had one apartment for their bed-room, another for their dining-room, and each upon each side of their room of entrance, that bed-room probably of an official attendant *.

Other

‡ Paris, 1007.

* As many particulars have occurred above in reference to herrings, which are directly opposite to some authorities truly respectable in themselves; let me confirm in a note what I have advanced in my text, and add other evidences from history to those above. "Haleces," says Camden, 584, "—tempore quæ proavorum *seculo* [a word here superfluous]," in a passage too literally rendered by bishop Gibson, "in the time of our grand- "fathers" Herrings.

Other parts of the house were laid out in rooms for the deacons, as one deacon we shall soon find here, sub-deacons, or others, and in a kitchen,

"fathers" (c. 905), but "in the time of our forefathers," more justly, by Mr. Gough (iii. 17), "tantùm ad Norwegiam sua quasi stativa habuerunt;" inelegantly translated by the bishop "swarmed only about Norway," as inelegantly, and very falsely, by Mr. Gough, "*seemed* to confine themselves to the coasts of Norway," where the "quasi," which refers merely to the "stativa," and is only meant to qualify a little the poetical tone of the expression, is applied to "habuerunt," and the author made to speak that dubiously which he avers positively, "[*seculo*, a word here wanted] nostro Britanniam nostram, non sine "divino consilio, numerosis examinibus quotannis circumnatant." Camden thus asserts the herrings to have formerly migrated no lower to the south than Norway, but in his time to have come as low as the British Channel. What scope of past time he comprehends in his "tempore proavorum," is not immediately apparent; but, from the opposition made between that time and *his own*, he must point at the period directly antecedent to his. This, therefore, as contradicting my text, I am studious to refute. It was not in his editions of 1590 or 1594, and ought not to have been in any. Leland, who wrote within this very period, lends us two notices in direct refutation of it; saying, in Itin. v. 55, 56, that "about the shore of Wyral on Mersey side to Walesey village, on the very shore,—men "*use much* to *salte herring* taken *at the se* by *the mouth of Mersey*;" and saying also concerning Lanunda parish, near St. David's in South Wales, "here about is *hering* "*fishing*," ibid. 29. "The method of packing and salting of herrings was not known," Mr. Smith also tells us, in his History of Cork, ii. 309, "till 1416," and therefore was known as early as 1416; "Mr. Willoughby observes, that William Buckelz, a native of Bier "Uliet, has rendered his name immortal, by the discovery of the secret of curing and pack-"ing herrings; he adds, that the emperor Charles V. coming into the Low Countries, with "his sister the queen of Hungary, they made a journey to Bier Uliet, on purpose to view "the tomb of this barreller of herrings." So early were herrings even salted for their preservation, on the coasts fronting our own! But they were actually salted *long before*, upon *our own*. "A record, 1 Edw. III. 1368," Mr. Gough remarks, p. 79, from the same Mr. Smith, in his subsequent History of Down, p. 243, "mentions a duty on them "in Ireland; which proves they had a method of pickling and preserving them, *fifty years* "*sooner than is generally thought*." So much at random is immortality of fame dispensed, by the mistaken voice of man! In the same reign of Edward III. but in a much earlier year of it, 1332, the king granted a charter to the town of Great Yarmouth, which notices its present fishery of herrings, in mentioning its vessels laden either with *herring* or with other fish, "seu de *allece* seu de aliis piscibus." (Brady on Boroughs, Appendix, 3, 4.) I have thus carried the fishery up to a period, much beyond all possible reach of Camden's pretended notice; but I can carry it still higher. Anthony Bec, who became bishop of Durham in 1283, and died bishop in 1311, but who seems to have been as stately almost as Wolsey

kitchen, a larder, a cellar, a SHAVING-ROOM, with a BATH on the ground-floor below. The shaving-room seems a singular apartment to the mind of *Shaving Room.*

Wolsey himself, having the liveried army and the menial lord in equal attendance upon him; "once in London," says his historian, "paid down *forty shillings* for *forty* fresh "*herrings*, when other nobles, then in parliament with him there, *did not choose to pur-* "*chase because of their over great dearness*" (Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 746, "pro xl "halecibus recentibus xl solidos Londoniæ semel solvit, aliis magnatibus, tunc in parlia- "mento ibi consistentibus, pro nimiâ caristiâ emere non curantibus"). The dearness must appear astonishingly great, even to the judgment of the present age. Yet many years before, in 1238, we find Yarmouth pursuing the herring-fishery with all the celebrity that it does now, and the very neighbours of the Norwegians, the very borderers upon their seas, the very inhabitants of Gothland in Sweden, with the very Dutch themselves, coming to the fish-fair at Yarmouth every year. That year, says M. Paris, news came into the west of Europe, that the Tartars, under their kan, had overrun all the East, and ravaged Hungary; "unde "*Gothiam* et *Frisiam* inhabitantes, impetus eorum pertimentes, in *Angliam*, ut *moris est* "*eorum* apud *Gernemue*, tempore *halecis* capiendi, *quo suas naves solebant onerare*, non *vene-* "*runt.*" (P. 398.) So great too was the demand from these Dutch and Swedish vessels, that, the exportation being thus prevented by accident, "*halec*, eo anno, in Angliâ," by a change in value strikingly the contrast of the rate above, "quasi pro nihilo præ abun- "dantiâ habitum; sub *quadragenario* vel *quinquagenario* numero, licet optimum esset, *pro* "*uno argento*," for one silver penny, "in partibus *a mari etiam longinquis* vendebatur." Herrings thus appear to have caught upon our own shores, salted by our own hands, and eaten by our own mouths, even sold in vast quantities to Friezelanders and to Swedes, *before* the year 1238. But in a still earlier year of that century, the 7th of king John, 1206, the townsmen of Dunwich, in Suffolk, had a remission of forty pounds for ever, of the fee-farm rent, paid by them before for their town, "to wit, out of a hundred and twenty "pounds, and *twenty-four thousand herrings*, and one mark; so that they render to us and "our heirs for the future in every year, eighty pounds, *and twenty-four thousand herrings*, "and one mark" (Brady, ibid. p. 11, "viginti quatuor millia hallecum"). Even at the beginning of the very century preceding, Henry, the first bishop of Ely, who became bishop in 1108, on his partition of the abbey's property between himself and his monks, gave the monks "*thirty thousand herrings* of *Dunwich*" (Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 617: "xxx millia "allecum de Dunewycs"). So little reason is there for the rash assertion made by Camden, or even the soberer one made by Smith, in his History of Cork; that "the Hollanders were "the first people in Europe, who observed the different seasons and returns of the herring "fishery;" and that "the first regular fishery began as early as the year 1163!" We have seen the Friezelanders already coming to our herring-fishery at Yarmouth, and the Irish already salting their herrings *before* the Dutch. The herring-pies of my text carry the catching and the salting of herrings upon our own coast, as high as 1093-1077, even near a full

of a modern in a community of monks. We should almost as soon expect to hear of what the use of tobacco had a little while ago introduced into the houses of our gentry, a smoking-room; or what has been more recently introduced in supersedence of the other, a powdering-room. Yet the shaving-room is clearly noticed in one of our monasteries: "Even to the time of this abbot Roger," says the Chronicle of Thorn, concerning St. Augustine's at Canterbury, in the reign of Henry III.; "the brethren *shaved one another* in the *cloyster;* but he, on account

a full century above the reported commencement of the fishery among the Dutch. But, to fix the point beyond all possibility of doubt, let me observe from Camden himself; that the town of Dunwich, which we have just seen paying twenty-four thousand herrings to the king, in 1206, and thirty thousand to the abbey of Ely, in 1108, appears from Doomsday Book to have actually paid the king at the making of it, *sixty thousand herrings*, "sexaginta "millia allectum [allecum] de dono" (Camden, 339, translated by Mr. Gough himself, and even with a strange exaggeration, "nine hundred thousand herrings," ii. 76). I have thus traced the herring-fishery up to the Saxon period, and there I leave it.

In this argument I have not noticed, because I saw to be false, that "the herring-pies, "which the lord of the manor of Carleton is bound to carry to court," as notes Mr. Gough, ii. 103, "are *the fee-farm rents* of the city of *Norwich* before *it was incorporated*," a fee-farm rent *before* incorporation!!! "*when* it was a great place, *before Yarmouth was* "*founded.*" Yet this very rent is instantly said by Mr. Gough himself, to have arisen from "the city *having purchased the manor of Carleton.*" It was therefore *no* fee-farm rent for Norwich, either before or after it was incorporated, either before or after Yarmouth was founded. And at the close, we are once more told by Mr. Gough, that "the town of "*Yarmouth* is by *charter* bound to *send—these herrings.*" Such a jumble of inconsistencies have we here! The truth is, undoubtedly, that Yarmouth, not Norwich, is obliged by a charter, not made before Norwich was incorporated, because it had plainly been incorporated when Doomsday Book was written (Brady, 4, 5), but later than Doomsday Book itself, which mentions no such obligation on either Norwich or Yarmouth; later even than the Yarmouth charter of 1332 above, which equally mentions no such obligation; to send a *great* hundred of its *first* and *fresh* herrings (as it still sends them) to the city of Norwich, there to be baked (as they are at present) into twenty-four *pasties*, "pastellos centum "halecum de *primis*" (Camden, 347), or "centum haleces *recentes* in viginti quatuor "*pastellis*" (Gough, ii. 103), and thence to be conveyed (as they equally are at present) by the lord of Carleton to the king (Camden, 347; Gibson, 458, 459; Gough, ii, 103, 104). On the whole then the herrings, those Huns and Vandals of the fishy generation, appear to have always issued, as they still issue, from their retreats under the polar ice, in quest of food among freer seas; and to have always returned, as they now return, to their beds of repose, or breeding, during their polar length of nights.

"of

" of the *cuts* and *various dangers* which they *frequently suffered*, because " they were *rude and ignorant* in the *office of shaving*, with the con- " sent of the convent ordered, that the shaving should be performed in " a *room* close to the *bathing-room*, and by *common barbers*, whenever " it was requisite; and that, *on the days of shaving*, three collects should " be added to the convent's devotions, *in memory* of Roger's kindness " and *for the salvation of Roger's soul* *." So roughly did these monks exercise their usurped office of barbers one upon another! such wounds did they mutually give and receive in their exercise of it! and such a real kindness was it in Roger to shift the scene of painful, even of dangerous operation, from the open cloyster to a retired room, and to call in the safe, smooth razors of professed barbers for the work! Priests, either regular or secular, always shaved, as appears from the anecdote so strikingly descriptive in itself, of Harold's spies before the battle of Hastings reporting William's army to be an army of *priests*, because the soldiers had no beards apparent †. Thus did our priests very early introduce among us the fashion which has now at last triumphed over the " bearded majesty ‡" of our Saxonized warriors, by converting us all

* Twisden, 1915: " Usque ad tempus hujus Rogeri abbatis, radebant se mutuò fratres " in claustro; sed iste, propter læsuras et diversa pericula quæ frequenter contigerunt inter " eos, quia rudes et nescii erant in officio radendi, ordinavit cum consensu conventus; quòd " rasura fieret in camerâ juxta balneatorium per seculares, quociens opus esset; et quòd, " diebus rasuræ, post *Verba mea* in capitulo dicantur tres collectæ,—in memoriam illius " beneficii, et pro animâ Rogeri abbatis." The " collects" were to be read " in capitulo," in the congregation at church. In the History of Evesham, by Mr. Tindal, 1794, p. 193, " post capitulum conventûs" are supposed " to mean either a *mass* performed in the *chapter-* " *house*, or perhaps merely the greater mass, at which the whole convent was present." They appear from *my* passage, they still more appear from Mr. Tindal's own, as ordering what was to be done " on each day" by *his* monks to mean merely the convent prayers. Mr. Tindal argues convincingly against his former interpretation, that " one cannot suppose " a chapter was held every day;" and he might have argued as convincingly, that " a " mass" can equally not be supposed to be every day celebrated, and that " a greater mass," still more strongly, cannot. Authors often hobble upon the crutches of learning for want of resolution to use their natural legs.

† Mat. Westm. 436: " Omnes de exercitu illo presbyteros videri, eò quòd faciem " totam cum utroque labio rasam haberent; unde Angli, nisi presbiteri, consuetudinem " non habebant."

‡ Gray's Bard.

(in

(in the language of the Saxon spies) into a nation of priests. The new fashion, equally sacerdotal in its origin and elegant in its aspect, commenced in the fourteenth century, and so provoked an order against it from the founder of New College in Oxford, one of his statutes expressly "*prohibiting* the *custom* of *shaving the beard* §." But at St. German's was no cloyster, and the shaving must therefore have been performed from the beginning within a room. St. German's, indeed, had no city near it, as St. Augustine's had, to furnish its *corps* of barbers for the large multitude of monks; yet had a small town, one barber from which would be fully competent for a community so much smaller. This town, too, could then support a much better barber than it can at present, because he would have all that attendance at the priory which is now cut off by the introduction of servants formally taught to shave their masters; and that very convenient practice of self-shaving, which has been lately introduced by our military gentlemen (I believe) among us, was never attempted then. Close to that shaving-room, we see, was *the bathing-room* at St. Augustine's. This will perhaps seem as extraordinary as the other, to our modern ideas. It seems in fact to be calculated for a climate much warmer than our own; and may reasonably therefore be argued, to have been derived with monkery itself from Egypt, that parent region of all monkery. Bathing, however, was assuredly enjoined, like a low diet, frequent fasts, and repeated blood-lettings, as an act of monastic discipline, as an operation of useful severity to the body, and an exertion of wholesome rigour upon the spirits. At one time, says accordingly a biographer of St. Neot, the saint was "standing *in* the well, *in* which he was *daily* wont to *repeat* "the *whole Psalter throughout* *." He is therefore represented in those windows of his church which exhibit his biography visible to the eye, as actually in the well up to the knees. But what carries assuredness into certainty at once, Adhelm, the famous founder of Malmesbury abbey in the end of the seventh century, and *the first Saxon who wrote Latin*

Bath Room.

§ Life of Hearne, 103: "Statutum illud collegii Novi, Oxoniæ, in quo prohibetur "consuetudo radendi barbas."

* Some Account, 20, 21.

verses

verses in this island, on becoming the prior of his own abbey, "used to "plunge himself up to the shoulders," says his historian, "into a well "very near the monastery, *to cut short the power of his rebel body*; "there he continued unshrinking for a whole night, minding neither the "icy rigours of winter, nor the vapours exhaling from the marshes in "summer; *and he never terminated the discipline* till *he had chanted his* "*Psalter throughout**." So very similar was the conduct of both! But another of the monks practised the same severity, at the same time. "In another part of the town," adds the historian, "is what is called "Daniel's Well, because Daniel, who was afterwards made bishop when "Adhelm was, used to keep these heavenly watches in it by night†." The severity of discipline in these was greater than in Neot; he sitting in the well by day with the water up to his knees, only, but they standing in it up to their shoulders by night. Either way, however, such a situation in the act of prayer seems amazing to the mind and astonishing to the spirit of an age like our own, peculiarly distinguished by its attention to bodily ease, and its repugnance to bodily rigours. But the high tone of devoutness in these hermitical or monastic men, considered severity to the body as a *stimulus* to the soul, as, therefore, an accompaniment serviceable to prayer, and as presenting the body with the soul, an agreeable oblation to GOD. Equally at Litchfield, as Leland informs us, "is St. Chadde's well, a springe of pure water, wheere is "seene a stone in the bottome of it, *on the whiche* some saye St. Chadde "was wont *naked to stand in the water* and *praye*. At this stone Chad "*had his oratory*, in the tyme of Wulpher kinge of the Merches," or Mercia‡. So plainly were the baths in monasteries, calculated merely for a monastic exercise of discipline! Nor let us smile at the supposed

* Anglia Sacra, ii. 13: "Ut vim rebelli corpori conscinderet, fonti, qui proximus mo-"nasterio, se humero tenus immergebat; ibi nec glacialem in hyeme rigorem, nec æstate "nebulas ex locis palustribus halantes, curans, noctes durabat inoffensus; finis duntaxat "percantati Psalterii terminum imponebat labori."

† Ibid. ibid. "In aliâ parte urbis, Fons Danielis dicitur; quia in eo Daniel cœlestes noc-"tibus ducebat excubias, qui cum Aldelmo pontificales accepit infulas." Daniel's and Adhelm's wells remained with their names respectively annexed, to the days of Leland (De Script. Brit. 92).

‡ Itin. iv. 117.

folly of this practice, either from such indulgence to our bodily feelings, as shrinks before all austerities however requisite; or from such an ignorance of the views of religion, as knows not it is calculated for the recovery of a fallen being; or from such a poor, creeping philosophy as is too ignorant and too indulgent to wish for any recovery at all, hating, therefore, the very sun of Christianity over its head, and earthing from it in the very darkness of deism*. Such strong self-denials as these, indeed, could never be practised by the generality even of real Christians. They have been always reserved for the few who wished to work up their souls into a religious abstraction from the body, in order to mix more freely in an union of fraternal devoutness with the angels, and to enjoy more fully an union of filial affectionateness with God himself.

Library.

But, above all, a literary mind is strongly impelled to inquire, *where* was the LIBRARY of this incorporated society of scholars. Yet, on such an inquiry, perhaps, the credulity of protestantism will stare with an air of foolish wonder at the simplicity prompting it. Monks, indeed, had their ignorance and their illiterateness as well as our own clergy, and even as much as our *most protestant* ministers of the dissension have†. Yet

* I here allude to a speech, which Deism may well make to Christianity:

> . . . . . To thee I call,
> But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
> O sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
> That bring to my remembrance from what state
> I fell.

† Leland's Coll. iv. 60: "Apud Franciscanos," at *Oxford*, "sunt *telæ aranearum* in "bibliothecâ; præterea, *tineæ et blattæ:* amplius, *quicquid alii jactent*, nihil, si spectes "eruditos libros. Nam ego, *invitis fratribus omnibus*, curiosè bibliothecæ forulos omnes "excussi." This passage is as curious as it is unknown: but the pointedness of it is increased in his work De Script. Brit. 286: "Id temporis fui Oxonii," he there says, "ut "copiam peterem videndi bibliothecam Franciscanorum; ad quod obstupuerunt asini aliquot, "rudentes *nulli prorsus mortalium licere tam sanctos aditus et recessus adire, et mysteria* "*videre*, nisi gardiano, sic enim præsidem suum vocant, et sacris sui collegii baccalaureis. "Sed ego urgebam, et principis diplomate munitus, *tantùm non coegi* ut sacraria illa aperirent. "Tum unus ex majoribus asinis, multa subrudens, *tandem* fores *ægrè* reseravit. Summe "Jupiter!

Yet we find them, not perhaps as *generally* learned as our own clergy are at present, and not even as the ministers of the dissension are; but still exhibiting some individuals as learned as any of either; as much practised too in the arts of composition, and as ready to inform their cotemporaries by their publications, a BEDE, a MALMESBURY, and a PARIS. When such men could be formed in the bosom of a monastery, the monastic libraries must have been furnished with books, in quantity and in quality almost equal to our own. The late historian of St. Alban's abbey, therefore, argues in *the very face of fact*, when he says, a "desire to excel" in studiousness and in learning, "*could not* "be cultivated with *effect* in the monasteries, because the *continual* "duty of the choir *occupied their whole time*, and allowed *no* vacant "hours for *private study*§." The existence of *his own* historian, PARIS, decisively proves the contrary. The great length, or the frequent recurrence of the church-services, indeed, hardly occupied more of their hours in a day than our morning walks, our morning rides, or our morning calls, our dinner-visits in the afternoon, our tea-drinkings in the evening, our clubs or our plays at night, occupy with ourselves at present. Yet my late unhappy friend Mr. Gibbon, who first solicited my acquaintance from my publication in 1771, by a letter amicably controverting some positions it; with whom I afterwards spent many an hour, and exchanged many a letter of literary friendliness, during an intercourse of four or five years; by whom (let me assume the honour due to myself) the poor scepticism of his spirit was carefully kept a secret to me all the time, though I began to suspect it at last; from whom I even received the favour of perusing, at my own leisure, his History in manuscript, then prosecuted into a part of the second volume, but industriously gutted of every thing *very* offensive; and to whom I remonstrated upon his sending me the first *volume* printed in 1776, so boldly and so keenly

"Jupiter! quid ego illic inveni? *Pulverem* autem inveni, *telas aranearum, tineas, blattas,* "*situm* denique et *squalorem.* Inveni etiam et libros, sed quos *tribus obolis libenter non* "*emerem.*—Roberti episcopi volumina et exemplaria omnia, ingenti olim pretio comparata," by bishop Grostest himself, and left in his will to this library, "*furto* ab *ipsis* Franciscanis; "huc illuc ex præscripto commigrantibus,—*sublata sunt.*" Yet, this very society, let us remember, had previously produced Roger Bacon.

§ Newcome, 231.

in a couple of letters, on his impious effrontery against Christianity, as broke off our friendly intercourse for ever; he who laid out his splendour of talents peculiarly in the self-deceptive glitter of eloquence, thus overpowered the solar light of his own judgment, and caught himself as larks are caught in France and in England at times, by the dazzling reflection of a mirror*; who therefore, from principle, wandered away into popery at first, then from sensuality turned off into Mahometanism (I believe) afterwards, but at last retired into a Roman kind of frigidly philosophical heathenism, and settled finally (I fear) in the central darkness of atheism itself; who, in this fluctuation of intellect and conduct, began to write his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, so burst out like a comet upon the world of religion,

> . . . . . And from his horrid hair
> Shook pestilence and war,

that worst of pestilences, infidelity, with that worst of wars, one against GOD himself; under all this wildly devious eccentricity of his spirit, and amid all the common or the parliamentary avocations of his mind, did he compose no less than six volumes, or nearly four thousand pages in quarto. And with the monastic avocations did a Paris, moving like the sun in a regular orbit, never glaring, always shining, with an attachment to truth, to principle, to utility, infinitely greater than Mr. Gibbon's, draw up his Latin histories of the kingdom and the abbey, in nearly *twelve hundred pages folio*. "Quantum ceteris ad suas res "obeundas, quantum ad festos ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias "voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis, conceditur tem-"porum; quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique

* "We travelled part of the way," says Mr. Swinburne, on his return from Spain, ii. 415, and in an excursion from Nismes to Arles, "in a rich plain, where a great number of "fowlers were stationed, turning small mirrors in order to dazzle the larks, and draw them "down within reach of their guns." Nor is the practice confined to France: Spenser alludes to it as English, in his Fairy Queen, vii. 6, 47:

> Like darred larke, not daring up to looke
> On her whose sight before so much he sought.

And a glass made use of in catching larks is called "a daring-glass" (note to Church's edition, in 1757).

"aleæ,

"aleæ, quantum pilæ; tantum mihi egomet," might such a monk exclaim with Cicero, "ad hæc studia recolenda sumpsi †."

Yet "it is to be observed," cries the historian of St. Alban's again, "that, among all the rooms and buildings belonging to the abbey, there "was none called the library; the scarcity of books rendered this un-"necessary." All, however, is inferred merely from one notice thus taken from the original historian; that abbot Symond, in the twelfth century, "provided a great number of very fair and reputable books, "among others the Old and New Testament much embellished;" and "caused a place to be made for these books, called the almonry, oppo-"site the tomb of Roger the hermit, somewhere within the body of "the church ‡." But the inference is unjust in itself, and the observation is void of truth. That the inference is unjust, a similar account of a former abbot shews us; who "gave to this church twenty-eight "notable volumes, and eight psalters, a collectary, an epistolary, a book "containing the Gospel lessons for the whole year, and two texts," or complete volumes of the Scriptures, "ornamented with gold and silver, "and gems; *besides* ordinals, consuetudinaries, missals, troparies, col-"lectaria, and other books, *which are kept in presses*," within the church, for the immediate use of it; "and *besides* relics, phylacteries, "palls, copes, albs, and various other ornaments," equally kept in the

† Oratio pro Archiâ, 13.

‡ Newcome, 75. The words of the original are these, p. 1036: "non desiit libros "optimos, et volumina authentica et glossata, tam Novi quàm Veteris Testamenti (qui-"bus non vidimus nobiliora);" not, as Mr. Newcome has vaguely rendered the words, "very fair and *reputable* books," but "the finest books;" and not, "among others, the Old "and New Testament much embellished," but, still referring books and volumes equally to the Bible, "volumes authentic" in their readings, and "glossed" upon their margins, "being the Old Testament" in one volume, and the "New" in another, "than which I "never saw nobler" volumes; "scribere, et ad unguem irreprehensibiliter præparare; "quorum numerum, longum foret explicare." That the "libri" and the "volumina" refer to the same object, is plain from p. 1038; where the expression is simply this: "*librorum* "optimorum copiam impretiabilem ad unguem præparavit." But, as the author proceeds in the first passage, "qui eosdem *libros* videre desiderat, in *almario picto*," or, as in p. 1038, "in speciali *almario—picturato*," not, as Mr. Newcome speaks, "in a place—called "the *Almonry*," a version egregiously absurd, but "in a painted press," or book-case, "quod est in ecclesiâ."

church,

Libraries in Monasteries.

church for use*. The other books were reposited in another place, and this place was the library of course. Thus Leland speaks of the canons of Barnwell, near Cambridge, and notes "the *library* at "Barnwell;" then mentions "the *library* of the Austin monks" at Cambridge, "the *library* of the Dominicans, and the library of the "Franciscans," there; specifying under each some of the books. He thus proceeds to mention a monastery at Thetford, and to specify some books in its *library*, does just the same at Norwich, at Walsingham, at Croyland, and at Peterborough; but occasionally varies his manner, notices no library, but speaks under each monastery of some of its books, "with the friers preachers" at Norwich, "with the Fran- "ciscans," and "with the Carmelites," enumerating several books, as in their respective libraries, of course†. Thus, at "Hely" we have "Liber Variarum Cassiodori," &c.; at "Walden" we have "Beda super "Cantica Canticorum," &c. and at "*the abbey of St. Alban's*, Alex- "ander Necham," &c. &c. &c.‡. We find even the very appellation of *library* applied to a room in this abbey; and the public collection of books for the use of the whole society, expressly mentioned upon one occasion, even a very early one. Paul, who was made abbot in 1077, "when he "had liberally bestowed upon the aforesaid warrior," says Paris, concerning one who had given some tithes to the abbey, and on whom the abbot, in return, bestowed his LIBRARY, previously furnished; "imme- "diately caused some peculiarly chosen books to be written§." The

* Paris, 1003: "Dedit—huic ecclesiæ viginti octo volumina notabilia, et octo psalteria, "collectarium, epistolarium, et librum in quo continentur Evangelia legenda per annum, "[et] duos textus auro et argento et gemmis ornatos; sine ordinalibus, consuetudinariis, "missalibus, tropariis, collectariis, et aliis libris, qui in almariolis habentur; et absque "reliquiis, phylacteriis, pallis, capis, albis, et aliis variis ornamentis."

† Leland's Coll. iv. 14: "In bibliothecâ Bernwellensi," "in bibliothecâ Augustinen- "sium;" "in bibliothecâ Dominicanorum;" p. 15, "in bibliothecâ Franciscanorum;" p. 25, "Teoforde—, in bibliothecâ;" p. 27, "in bibliothecâ Christicolarum Nordowici;" p. 29, "Walsingham,—in bibliothecâ," "Croyland,—in bibliothecâ;" p. 31, "Peter- "burg,—in bibliothecâ;" p. 28, "apud prædicatores," "apud Franciscanos," "apud "Carmelitas."

‡ Coll. iv. 163. "Hely, Liber Variarum Cassiodori," and "Walden, Beda super Can- "tica Canticorum," and "Cœnobium S. Albani,—Alexander Necham super," &c.

§ Paris, 1003: "Postquam—præfato militi *librariam* suum, primò paratum, liberaliter "contulerat, continuò—libros præ-electos scribi fecit."

library given was equally belonging to the whole society, as the books ordered to be written were, and as the tithes for which the return was made. All were the property of the abbey; the abbot therefore had the same power over them, as he had over the other property; and the new books were to supply the place of the old. This passage however, explicit as it is for the existence of a library even so early at St. Alban's, with an astonishing dexterity of negligence has Mr. Newcome suppressed entirely in the main point; even though he mentions all the attendant circumstances †. Nor is this the only mention that we find made, of the library at St. Alban's. Mr. Newcome himself, with an equally astonishing forgetfulness of all that he has said before, in another place says of an abbot, that he "made great addition to *the library*, by "the acquisition of many books ‡." And, what aggravates the inconsistency, the principal word in the original is *the very same*, which he has translated *almonry* before, and on the authority of which he has denied the very existence of a *library* here §. His own evidence, therefore, is decisive against himself. But let us turn to others.

Even in the Monasticon, even in its brief account of this very abbey, we find an ancient manuscript of the Bodleian actually reciting the Latin verses, that were inscribed upon the windows of the abbey "in the "*library-room**." So careless has Mr. Newcome been, in overlooking the notices given by two works, that must have been ever before his eyes, ever in his hands,

Nocturnâ versata manu, versata diurnâ,

while he was writing his history; and even speaking himself, in full contradiction to them! We can the less wonder therefore, that he has overlooked another work, which was not so immediately requisite for his inspection, but which ought to have been particularly consulted. That "Coryphæus" in our ecclesiastical antiquities, he who seems as a giant in *our* sight, while *we* are as grasshoppers before him, even Leland, speaks of this library also, and in moments just antecedent to the destruction of the

† P. 48. ‡ Newcome, 121. § Paris, 1058: "Almariolo."
* Monasticon, i. 183: "In fenestris in domo librariâ monasterii prædicti."

abbey.

abbey. "About ten years ago," he tells us, "I repaired to Verulam, for "inspecting with a curious eye the ruins of the old municipium of the "Romans; which when I had done, I turned aside to St. Alban's abbey, "near to the walls of the fallen city. Here, indeed, a monk elegantly "learned, whose name was Kingsbury, a man very fond of all antiquities, "with great attentiveness shewed me *the parchment treasures* of this vast "monastery; among which appeared †," &c. Or, as the passage may not seem sufficiently explicit to the anti-monastical reader, let me recite what Leland says in another place concerning this visit to the abbey; "I was several days at St. Alban's, a monastery situated near the walls "of the deserted Verulam, that I might extract some notes of the anti-"quities of Britain, from *the treasures* of *the celebrated library which is* "*there* ‡." So expressly is this very library mentioned! So expressly is it pronounced to have been very celebrated too! And so very grossly mistaken is Mr. Newcome, in denying its existence!

This great, this mitred abbey, was sure to have one, when its very cell of Tinmouth had §. There was, we may be sure from such a cell possessing one, scarce any monastery so insignificant in itself, as not to contain a library within its walls. Malmesbury expressly informs us of conventual "churches; in which were contained *from ancient days* libraries, "*stocked with a number of books*, but burnt with their books by the

† Leland De Script. Brit. 317: "Annis abhinc plus minus decem, Verolamium me con-"tuli, municipii veteris Romani ruinas curiosè inspecturus; quod cùm fecissem, diverti ad "Fanum Albani, muris collapsæ urbis vicinum. Hìc *me* [superfluous!] quidem monachus "eleganter eruditus, cui a regiâ curiâ nomen, vir antiquitatis omnis studiosissimus, thesau-"ros pergamenicos monasterii ingentis officiosissimus mihi ostendit. Inter quos et," &c.

‡ Leland De Script. Brit. 166: "Agebam dies aliquot apud Fanum Albani, monasterium "propter muros deserti Verolamii situm, ut aliquid antiquitatis Britannicæ e thesauris bibli-"othecæ quæ ibidem celebris est, eruerem."

§ Leland's Coll. iii. 403: "In bibliothecâ Tinemutensi." That this was a cell to St. Alban's, even Mr. Newcome informs us; as "at this time also," he says, p. 47, "Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, caused certain monks of *this* church" of St. Alban, "to dwell in the church of St. Mary at Tinmouth,—and there constitute a cell sub-"ordinate to *this* church."

"*Danes.*"

"*Danes* ‖." We even observe books *brought into England* for *sale*, so early as the year 705 ¶. So early as that very century too, the eighth, we see learning to have been prosecuted more successfully in England than in France, at York than at Tours *. Then did the archbishop's library at York accordingly contain within it, the Fathers Greek and Latin, the Latin and Greek Classics, the Commentators, the Grammarians, and moderns; all collected in journies upon the continent. And as far as we can judge from a *poetical* catalogue of it, the oldest catalogue perhaps existing in all the regions of literature, certainly the oldest existing in England, yet drawn up at the very time by a first-rate scholar, of a name still retained in the north, Alcuin or Alkin; TROGUS POMPEIUS, that Augustan writer of an *Universal History* in *five-and-forty volumes* †, who is ranked by such as had read him with Sallust, Livy, or Tacitus, who is cited frequently by so late a writer as Orosius, but is supposed to have been lost soon afterwards, and has actually disappeared with all his volumes to these later ages, was plainly preserved in this library, as he is expressly specified in this catalogue; being specified equally with Livy himself, equally without any reference to their respective epitomizers Justin or Florus, and equally without any *dismemberments* in themselves. It is mournfully pleasing under the loss of such historians in part or in whole, to point at a period in which they were *not* lost, to continue it as long as we possibly can, and to shew how

‖ Malmesbury, f. 24: "Ecclesiæ, in quibus numerosæ a prisco bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris a Danis incensæ."

¶ Gale, i. 355.

* Alcuinus alias Albinus, a native and scholar of York, but invited over to Tours in France by Charlemagne, in a letter to this monarch, desires, "ut aliquos ex pueris nostris remittam, "qui excipiant nobis inde necessaria quæque, et revehant in Franciam flores Britanniæ; ut "non sit tantummodo in Euboricâ civitate ortus conclusus, sed in Turonicâ emisscines Para-"disi cum pomorum fructibus, ut veniens Auster perflare [possit] hortos Ligeri fluminis." Leland's Coll. ii. 399.

† Præfatio Justini: "Vir præcæ eloquentiæ, Trogus Pompeius, Græcus et totius orbis "historias Latino sermone composuit.—Horum igitur quatuor et quadraginta voluminum "(nam totidem edidit),—cognitione quæque dignissima excerpsi."

hear they were transmitted to our own times by the libraries of the clergy‡. We

‡ Gale, i. 730. This catalogue Alcuin himself calls in a letter (Coll. ii. 399), "exquisitiores scholasticæ eruditionis libellos, quos habui in patriâ per bonam et devotissimam magistri mei industriam, vel etiam mei ipsius qualemcunque sudorem;" Ethelbert, master of the school at York, afterwards archbishop of the see, having formed the library, and leaving it at his death to Alcuin. (Gale, i. 730.)

Illic invenies veterum vestigia Patrum,
Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe,
Græcia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis;
Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno,
Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit;
Quod pater Hieronymus, quod sensit Hilarius, atque
Ambrosius præsul, simul Augustinus, et ipse
Sanctus Athanasius, quod Orosius edit avitus,
Quidquid Gregorius summus docet, et Leo papa,
Basilius quidquid, Fulgentius atque, coruscant,
Cassiodorus item, Chrysostomus atque Johannes;
Quidquid et Athelmus docuit, quid Beda Magister,
Quæ Victorinus scripsêre, Boetius atque;
Historici veteres, POMPEIUS, Plinius * ipse;
Acer Aristoteles, rhetor quoque Tullius ingens;
Quid quoque Sedulius, vel quid canit ipse Juvencus,
Alcuinus, et Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator,
Quid Fortunatus, vel quid Lactantius, redunt;
Quæ Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus, et auctor
Artis Grammaticæ, vel quid scripsêre Magistri,
Quid Probus, atque Focas, Donatus, Priscianusve,
Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Comminianus.
Invenies alios perplures, lector, ibidem,
Egregios studiis, arte, et sermone magistros,
Plurima quî claro scripsêre volumina sensu;
Nomina sed quorum præsenti in carmine scribi,
Longius est visum quàm plectri postulet usus.

These books were what he had purchased abroad (p. 729):

Non semel externas peregrino tramite terras
Jam perigravit ovans, sophiæ deductus amore;
Siquid fortè novi librorum seu studiorum,
Quod secum ferret, terris reperiret in illis.

* Livius.

In

We find also other libraries in other ages of our monasteries, dispensing, like so many moons, their collected illumination through that (as vulgarly reported) polar night of darkness. Thus we find the library of the Carmelite or White Friars to have had, besides divinity, besides Giraldus's Topography of Wales, and besides Higden's History, "a very ancient copy of Solinus," Frontinus's Book of Stratagems, and Macrobius *; that of Ely, besides divinity, besides history, to have had Vitruvius's Architecture and Antoninus's Itinerary †; that at Colchester, to have had "almost all the Latin poets ‡;" that at Edmundsbury, "a very "ancient manuscript of Sallust," the Architecture of Vitruvius, and the Laws of the Lombards §. We find also the Categories of Aristotle, and the Timæus of Plato, at Glastonbury ‖; "a very fair manuscript of "Terence," at Wells ¶; some of Galen's writings, and a treatise translated out of Arabic into Latin, at Bath **; and "an ancient manuscript "of Terence," at Lanthony ††; with a variety of others, specified by Leland himself, as rare even in *his* age, and singular even in *his* eyes. But to raise our view above that minuteness of vision, which diminishes the size of the object even in shewing it more clearly, and to present it in its full volume of magnitude to the eye; let me produce some general accounts of the frequency or the largeness of these clerical libraries. Even common churches, such as St. Peter's on Cornhill in London, St. Mary's in Warwick, and Pontefract in Yorkshire; Sherborne in Dorsetshire, Cirencester in Gloucestershire, Abingdon in Berkshire, and Coggeshall in

In Coll. iv. 36, we find this account of the library, as it was in the days of Leland: "In "bibliothecâ S. Petri, quam Flaccus Albinus, alias Alcuinus, subinde miris laudibus extollit "propter insignem copiam librorum, tum Latinorum, tum Græcorum; jam *ferè bonorum* "*librorum nihil est*: exhausit enim hos thesauros (ut pleraque alia) et *Danica immanitas* et "*Guliehmi Nothi violentia.*"

* Leland's Coll. iv. 53, 54: "Solini vetustissimum exemplar."

† Ibid. 163.

‡ Ibid. 162: "Omnes fere Latini poetæ."

§ Ibid. 162, 163: "Vetustiss. codice Sallustii."

‖ Ibid 155.

¶ Ibid. ibid.: "Terentius pulcherrimus."

** Ibid. 157.

†† Ibid. 159: "Terentius, vetus codex."

Essex; Woburn and Warden in Bedfordshire, Windham near Norwich, Bridlington in Yorkshire, with Stratford-Bow; had all their respective libraries ‡‡. Nor let all for the sake of these be thought, in the violence of prejudice struggling against conviction, to be mean and petty libraries, the mere *studia* of our schools at present. Some of them were so in their origin, as the seven-mouthed Nile issues from a small spring, and flows in a little rill, at first. Thus, at the Franciscan friery of London, more than a century before the erection of its *library*, "Bogo Bond, "herald, king at arms, builded the *musæum*," or in Stowe's language, more humbly as it sounds to our ears at present, yet very apposite as it is in itself, "the *studies*," for what is denominated still the *study* in the language of the judicious, but arrogates the title of *library* from the silly and the vain, even for a room full of books among the *middle* ranks of life *. Some also of those libraries which have been mentioned last, we actually know to have been well furnished with books ‖, and others we find to have been still better furnished. The abbey at Leicester, and the priory at Dover, had each a library of no mean or petty size; we can appeal in proof to the best of all testimonies, the very catalogues of their books yet remaining in the Bodleian †. The library of the Augustine monks at Canterbury, as Leland expressly informs us, was "a rich ma-"gazine of ancient volumes;" because, as he adds, "Augustine collected "by his friends in Italy many volumes both Latin and Greek, and took "care to have them sent him, all of which he left at death to his monks, "as pledges of his kindness towards them; the Greek are lost partly by "violence of times, partly by fire, partly too by theft; but as to the "Latin, *written after the manner of the ancients in the large kind of Ro-*

‡‡ Itin. vii. 131; viii. 28; and De Script. Brit. 400, 165, 213, 238, 212, 405, 343, 334, 202, 249.

* Leland's Coll. i. 108: "Bogo Bond, heraldus, rex armorum, condidit museum." Stowe's London, 341: "Mr. Bevis Bond, herald, and king at armes, builded the studies."

‖ De Script. Brit. 343: "Ad Triburnam cœnobium Bernardinorum,—*thesauros perga-*"*menicos* paulò ante igne consumptos;" ibid. "Verodunum, ubi et monasterium quoque "Bernardinorum, ac bibliotheca *antiquis refertissima exemplaribus*;" 334, "Bibliothecâ "Verodunensi, *optimis refertissimâ exemplaribus*."

† Tanner, preface, p. xxv. xxvi.

"*man*

" *man characters,* these even now remain, presenting *an incredibly ma-*
" *jestic air of antiquity* in their aspect, namely, two volumes containing
" the four Gospels, but in a version *different from that of the Vulgate,* a
" Psalter dedicated even by Jerome himself to Damasus the Roman
" pontiff, which I would willingly believe to be *indeed the very original,*
" besides two most elegant commentaries on the Psalms, which *from*
" *their too great age admit no reader, except one that is very keen-eyed* ‡."
So careful were the monks *in general,* of preserving their literary trea-
sures, concealing them from enemies, rescuing them from fires, and vin-
dicating them from moths or worms §! We have even another in-
stance of their care, and I note it to carry on the chain of intelligence
down into later ages. " A few years ago," as Leland tells us, " I was
" in the library at Bath; where I found some books not void of learning,
" *the treasures of venerable antiquity,* given (as appeared from the in-
" scriptions) in presents from king *Athelstan* himself to the monks; one
" of them, because it was upon papal synods, and I was struck with *the*
" *antiquity and majesty* of the work, I transferred to the royal library of
" the most illustrious king Henry VIII. ‖."

But

‡ De Script. Brit. 299, 300: " Augustinianam bibliothecam, id est, divitem veterum ex-
" emplariorum officinam—: Augustinus—multa cùm Latina tum Græca exemplaria per
" amicos in Italiâ comparavit, et ad se deferenda curavit, quæ omnia moriens, tanquam vir-
" tutis pignora, monachis suis reliquit; Græca partim violentiâ temporis, partim igne, par-
" tim etiam furto sublata sunt; ex Latinis autem codicibus, majusculis literis Romanis more
" veterum scriptis, hi etiam nunc extant, incredibilem præ se ferentes antiquitatis majesta-
" tem, videlicit, duo volumina quatuor Evangelia complectentia, sed alius quàm vulgaris in-
" terpretationis, Psalterium etiam abipso Hieronymo, Damaso pontifici Romano dedicatum,
" quod quidem vel archetypum esse libenter crediderim, insuper duo elegantissimi in Psalmos
" commentarii, qui præ nimiâ vetustate lectorem non admittunt nisi oculatissimum."

§ Leland, in p. 300, blames the very monks of Canterbury for *particular* wastefulness, concerning the books *not* preserved; when surely the preservation of these amidst those ravages of war, by which the monastery was burnt in 1168, " quæ calamitas," says Leland himself, " magnam vim bonorum autorum, ut idem [Thornus] est testis, abstulit," is a sufficient justification of them.

‖ Leland, 160: " Paucis abhinc annis fui in Badunensi bibliothecâ, ubi reperi aliquot
" non indoctos libros, venerandæ vetustatis thesauros, ab ipso Ethelstano, ut ex inscriptio-
" nibus apparuit, monachis dono datos; ex illis unum, captus cum antiquitate tum majestate
" operis, erat enim de synodis pontificiis, in palatinam bibliothecam illustrissimi regis Hen-
" rici

But the monks were not only careful of what they had got, they actually travelled abroad to procure more. Thus Thomas Walden, a Carmelite, who went by the order of Henry V. to the council of Constance, who was equally present at the council of Pisa, and died in 1430; had collected such a number of books in his travels, that "he bequeathed to "the Carmelites of London as many volumes of excellent authors, "*written in the larger kind of Roman characters*, as *that age* estimated at "*two thousand pounds* in the least: whence it comes, however the number of books be remarkably diminished at present, that there is yet *no* "*library in London* which can *vie with the Carmelite*, either in the *multitude* or in the *antiquity* of its volumes ¶." But let me recite another fact of the same nature, as they serve to open a new world of notices upon our Protestant eyes. William Tilly a monk of Canterbury obtained leave from his abbot to travel into Italy; set out, studied the civil and canon law at Bologna, formed a friendship with Politian there, and "never remitting for a moment his efforts of industry or his measures of "expense, collected many volumes of Greek; nor was he less vigorous in "purchasing Latin manuscripts, yet only those *of ancient date*; which "he brought with him to Canterbury not long afterwards, as *treasures* "*plainly unparalleled*.—A *few years ago* one Leighton a pettifogger, ac-"companied with a lewd and rash rabble, came to quarter at Canter-"bury, and was received hospitably by the abbot. But at midnight, "from the negligence and drunkenness of Leighton's servants, the abbey

"rici Octavi transtuli." So in Coll. iv. 154, we have at Glastonbury, "Grammatica Eu-"ticis, *liber olim S. Dunstani*." Thus were kept to the Reformation in several libraries, translations from Latin into English made under the countenance of king *Alfred*; "vel "hodie hujusmodi translationes in non paucis bibliothecis extent, *venerandam præ se feren-"tes antiquitatem*." (De Script. Brit. 100.) And at Malmesbury was kept equally to the same period, "Davidis Psalterium, literis Saxonicis," that is, the Roman letters disfigured into Saxon (Hist. of Manchester, ii. quarto, 331, 332), "longiusculis scriptum;" which had belonged to *Adhelm*, a scholar much earlier than either Dunstan or Alfred.

¶ De Script. Brit. 441: "Tot nobilium autorum volumina, majusculis literis Romanis "scripta, Carmelitis nostræ urbis ex testamento reliquit, quot illa ætas duobus ad minimum "aureorum millibus æstimavit; unde, quamvis jam insigniter diminutus sit librorum nume-"rus, nulla tamen est Londini bibliotheca, quæ, vel multitudine vel antiquitate exemplario-"rum, cum Carmelitanâ conferri possit."

"was

" was suddenly set on fire and burned; in the highest story of the house " was Tilly's *treasure of books* reposited, and now, to the very great in- " jury of the studious, destroyed. In this destruction, they say THE " LONG-LOST TREATISE OF TULEY DE REPUBLICA WAS REDUCED TO " ASHES *."

Thus ranging actively abroad in quest of books, the spirit of the monks (we may be sure) was doubly active at home. We accordingly find a remarkable instance of this. The library at Ramsey, a place now almost unknown to the topographer of England, was celebrated for what we are amazed to hear of either there or then, its stock of *Hebrew* books, and merely from an attention of this nature. The Jews, being for the first time permitted to pass over from Normandy into England by the Conqueror, spread in a short time over the kingdom, just as they are now spread, and had, as they now have, a synagogue in almost every great town of it; but, in the reign of Edward I. all their property was tyrannically confiscated, and they themselves were barbarously banished. " Then, the synagogues at Huntingdon and Stamford being profaned, all " their furniture came under the hammer for sale, together with *their* " *treasures of books* †. But when Gregory Huntingdon, a monk of Ramsey, who had been studying the Hebrew language for some time before, and been checked in his studies by the want of Hebrew books,

* De Script. Brit. 482: " Et industriæ et impensis nullum certè locum relinquens, Græca " exemplaria multa conquisivit; nec minori ullâ curâ in conradendis Latinis, sed antiquæ " notæ, codicibus usus est; quos nec longo post tempore, tanquam thesaurus planè incom- " parabiles, secum deduxit, Duroverntum repetens.—Annis abhinc pauçis Legidunus lega- " leius, iniquâ et temerariâ comitatus turbâ, Duroverntum hospes venit; humanissimè a " præside fani servatoris acceptus est. Sed nocte intempestâ, negligentiâ et temulentiâ ejus " servorum, ædes subito igne correptæ conflagraverunt. In quarum supremo tabulatu the- " saurus librorum Tillæi reconditus unàque exhaustus, maximo studiosorum incommodo. " Ferunt hâc clade Ciceronis desideratissimum *De Republicâ* volumen in cineres redactum " fuisse." For the last incident we have another evidence: " In those dayes—did utterly " perish—at *Canterbury*—that wonderful work of the sage and eloquent Cicero *De Repub-* " *licâ*." (Dr. Dee to Q. Elizabeth, 1556, in Joannes Glastoniensis, ii. 490.)

† De Script. Brit. 321, 322: " Tum, synagogis profanatis Venantoduni et Stenofordæ, " supellex omnis sub hastâ venum exposita, unà cum librorum thesauris."

" understood of this auction, he hastily repaired to it from his adjoining " monastery with a good sum of money, and readily at the fixed price " purchased their gold for his brass, and returned home in high spirits. " What did he do then? Night and day he turned over his Hebrew " volumes, till he had drawn from the very fountain-head a more inti- " mate knowledge of the language. He left also to his colleagues many " excellent annotations from his own pen, which a learned posterity " might read with pleasure. The *catalogue of Ramsey library* makes a " specific and an honourable mention, of *the Hebrew books most diligently* " *collected by him* ‡." He thus begun that collection, which afterwards received considerable additions from Robert Dodford, another monk of the abbey §; and had even a *Hebrew Lexicon* compiled from both, by a third. Laurence Holbech, in the reign of Henry IV. " lighting upon " the Hebrew volumes, which had been rescued from destruction as " purchased with money formerly by the remarkable care of Gregory—, " and which *exhibited all the glorious majesty of the ancient synagogue*;" he resolved, that " what Gregory had happily begun in the Hebrew " language, he would more happily complete," and therefore " formed " in an elegant manner a Hebrew Dictionary, a work at once refined and " learned; which was carried away a few years ago, by the wicked in- " dustry of a purloiner, Robert Wachefeld. John Child, lately a monk " of Ramsey, when the abbey and *its noble library* were sinking in one " common ruin, *preserved the Hebrew books from destruction* *." Such an

‡ De Script. Brit. 322: " Ubi autem Gregorius hanc auctionem factam esse intellexerat, " vicinus atque idem nummatus festinanter accurrit, ac, dato pretio, aurea pro æreis facilè " comparavit, et lætissimus domum rediit. Quid tum ille? Nocturnâ versabat manu, " versabat diurnâ, Hebræa exemplaria; donec penitiorem linguæ cognitionem ex ipsis " exhausisset fontibus. Reliquit autem suis symmistis multa egregiè calamo annotata, " quæ docta cum voluptate legeret posteritas. Librorum Hebraicorum ab eo diligen- " tissimè collectorum, catalogus bibliothecæ Rameseganæ luculentam juxta ac honorificam " mentionem facit."

§ Ibid. 322: " Sed et idem catalogus accuratè recenset Hebraicos thesauros, divina " volumina, a Roberto Dodefordo, monacho Ramesegano, religiosè comparatos."

* Ibid. 452: " Inciderat in exemplaria quædam Hebraica, synagogæ veteris majesta- " tem eximiam illam referentia, comparata quidem et ab interitu olim conservata insigni " industriâ Gregorii.—Cum hôc scriptore fuit pia quædam Laurentio invidia, ut quod " ille

an illustrious society of Hebrew scholars, was this sequestered abbey of Ramsey; and such a Christian Sion was raised, amidst the eastern lakes of our island; till the Reformation swept away this Sion, and made that study of the Hebrew, which seems to have begun with the beginnings of the Saxon church *, which was now culminating rapidly to its zenith, to set in the ocean for a century and a half afterwards †.

Having thus shewn the numerousness and the valuableness of the books reposited in our monasteries, let us throw open the doors of the rooms in which they were lodged, dart our eyes of curiosity down the length of them; and then estimate the consequence of books to the society from the reception of these guests within it. "Thomas Bubwith," says Leland in his Itinerary, but means Nicholas Bubwith, who became bishop of Wells in 1407, and died in 1424, "made the est part of the "cloyster, with the litle chapel beneth, and *thé great librarie* over it, "*having twenty-five windowes on ech side of it* §." Such a magnificent room was this for books! nor was it, we may be sure, a body without a soul. We even know it was not. "When some years ago I was at "Glastonbury, in Somersetshire," cries Leland in his other work, so often quoted here, so little known in general, yet so replete with intelligence of men and things that have been long forgotten, "I turned to "Wells, in order to clear up a point of deep antiquity; I therefore "entered *the library*, which *had been formerly furnished with no small*

"ille videlicet in Hebræâ linguâ feliciter inchoasset, hic felicius absolveret,—elegantèr con-"cinnato Dictionario Hebraico, opere tum elimato tum docto, quod annis abhinc paucis "Roberti Wachefeldi polypi nimiâ diligentiâ sublatum est." There were literary thieves then as there are now. "Joannes Infantius nuper monachus Rameseganus, qui et libros "Hebraicos, corruente unà cum nobili bibliothecâ cœnobio, ab interitu conservavit, èa "mihi—retulit."

* Alcuin, in Gale, i. 730, informs us, that there were the Hebrew Scriptures in the library at York:

"Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre *superno*.

† We even find translations out of Arabic, made by monks. "Vidi etiam opus, cui "titulus *Erith Alcheretmi*, ex Arabico in Latinum *ab eo* [Ethelard of Bath] translatum, et "Euclidis Geometriam *ex eódem fonte* in Latium derivatam." (De Script. Brit. 201.)

§ Itin. iii. 122; see also 121, 122, 123; and Godwin.

" *number of books*, in *a very magnificent manner*, by the bishops and " canons of that city; where I found *immense treasures of venerable* " *antiquity* ‖." In the fire at Croyland abbey, so early as the year 1091, " our whole library perished," says Ingulphus, then abbot, " which contained *more than three hundred original volumes*," manuscripts of high antiquity, I suppose, from the appellation of *original*, " besides lesser," and more modern " volumes, which were *more than* " *four hundred* *." There were even no fewer than *seventeen hundred* manuscripts in the library at Peterborough †. But, to keep closer to the room itself, " Richard Whitington in the yere 1429," Stowe tells us, concerning the Franciscan or grey friers, near Newgate in London, " founded *the library*, which was in length *one hundred twenty and nine* " *foot*, and in breadth *thirty-one*, all *seeled* [ceiled] with *wainscot*; " having *twenty-eight desks* and *eight double settles* of *wainscot*; which, " in the next yeere following, was altogether finished in building, and " within three yeeres after furnished with bookes *to the charges of five* " *hundred fifty-six pounds, tenne shillings* ‡." This is a pleasing view of the manner and form in which the interior of a monastic library was laid out. And, at the close, let me repeat what Leland speaks concerning one library more. " Some years ago I was at Glastonbury," he notes, " —where is an abbey at once the most ancient and the most famous in " all our island, and by the favour of Richard Whiting, abbot of the

‖ De Script. Brit. 387: " Cùm aliquot abhinc annis essem Glessoburgi Somurotrigum, " Fontanetum divertebam, ut aliquid penitioris antiquitatis eruerem. Intravi igitur biblio- " thecam, quæ ab episcopis et canonicis ejusdem urbis non parvo librorum numero " olim magnificentissimè perornata fuit, ubi immensos venerandæ antiquitatis thesauros " inveni."

* Ingulphus, p. 98, Oxon: " Tota quoque bibliotheca nostra periit, quæ amplius quàm " ccc volumina originalia continebat, præter minora volumina, quæ amplius erant quàm " cccc."

† Tanner, preface, xxv. from Gunton, 173.

‡ Stowe, 341: " From an ancient manuscript delivered to me by a friend," but previously seen by Leland, who makes large extracts from it in Coll. i. 108, 109. Leland uses the words " ligno *intestini* operis," which we should not have known how to translate with certainty, if Stowe had not explained them to mean *wainscot*. The very *ceiling* was of *wainscot*, with the desks and seats.

" place,"

"place," who was judicially murdered afterwards by that sanguinary tyrant Henry, "refreshed my mind after its fatigue from long and "laborious studies, till some new ardour for reading and learning should "inflame me. This ardour came sooner than I expected. I therefore went "immediately to *the library*, which was not accessible to every body; "that there I might very carefully turn over *those remains of very sacred* "*antiquity* which are there *in such numbers as are hardly to be found* "*any where else in Britain.*" [Or, as Leland speaks of them in another place, "*those vast treasures of books*, the *truly venerable monuments of an-* "*tiquity.*"] "But scarce had I fairly entered the doorway, when even *the* "*view alone* of *the very ancient books* threw *a religious awe* over my mind, "or rather raised up *a wild astonishment* in it; and I therefore *stopt short* "*awhile.* Then, *after a salutation to the genius of the room*, for some "days I ransacked the shelves with great curiosity §." This is the finest compliment that ever was paid to a library by a man of genius and learning; nor could either the Bodleian or the Vatican ever receive a finer, than what is thus paid to a library merely monastic.

But let us not suppose, in the readiness of prejudice to accumulate supposition upon supposition, and bury truth under the hills of its own piling; that the monks made as little use of these libraries, as many of our lay-gentlemen do of theirs at present; and that *those*, like *these*,

> Unlearned men, of books assum'd the care,
> As eunuchs are the guardians of the fair.

No! We see the very reverse. We have indeed an evidence just as good

§ De Script. Brit. 41: "Eram aliquot abhinc annis Glessoburgi Somurotrigum, ubi "antiquissimum simul et famosissimum est totius insulæ nostræ cœnobium, animumque "longo studiorum labore fessum, favente Richardo Whitingo ejusdem loci abbate, recrea- "bam, donec novus quidem cùm legendi tum discendi ardor me inflammaret. Supervenit "autem ardor ille citius opinione; itàque statim me contuli ad bibliothecam non omnibus "perviam, ut sacrosanctæ vetustatis reliquias, quarum tantus ibi numerus quantus nullo "alio facilè Britanniæ loco, diligentissimè evolverem. Vix certè limen intraveram, cùm "antiquissimorum librorum vel solus conspectus religionem, nescio an stuporem, animo "incuteret meo; eâque de causâ, pedem paululum sistebam. Deinde, salutato loci numine, "per dies aliquot omneis ferulos curiosissimè excussi." Ibid. 131: "Ingenteis librorum "thesauros, veneranda planè antiquitatis monimenta."

for *their* use of their libraries, as we have for our own; a number of scholars and of publications. From the scholars let us select one or two of the best, but all Saxon. Dunstan, says the historian Malmesbury, "under the tuition of these," the monks Irish and English of Glastonbury, "took in the very marrow of Holy Scripture to an extreme "satiety. Of secular literature he thought there was somewhat to be "neglected, and somewhat also to be desired. For he listened with a "passing ear only to those writings of the poets, which dwell upon "fables, and those of the arts, which furnish the weapons of eloquence "without doing good to the soul. But arithmetic, with geometry, "astronomy, and music, which have all a mutual connexion, he learned "with satisfaction and cultivated with industry; because in these was "both a great exertion of science, an unviolated purity of truth, and a "not unprofitable consideration of the wonderful works of God. The "knowledge of these is held out in high promises by the Irish, who are "otherwise less adapted to teach the forms of the Latin language, and "the purity of speaking in it. Wherefore, being struck with a love for "all, but particularly for music, he delighted both to play himself upon his "instruments, and to hear others playing. At every interval of leisure "from his studies, he loved to take the harp, and to touch the sounding "strings into harmony. He thus, by the grace of God, had gained a "large stock of learning; as he had *a vivacity of genius predominating*, "to *enliven an intensity of studiousness*. And he had two endowments "ministering to his learning; an eloquence polished but unlaboured, "and a practice prompt but full." One of his pupils was Ethelwold, who in early life "selected Dunstan out of all mankind, for the counsel-"lor of his life, wishing to war under his command and to lodge in his "tent, longing with him to live and with him to die. He therefore "went to Glastonbury, was there taught grammar and prosody, then "was admitted a monk." When he became bishop of Winchester, "he did what was greatly to his honour; a scholar himself, he prized "scholars very highly; among whom Alfric the grammarian, Wolstan "the præcentor, and Ethelgar, abbot of New Minster at Winchester, "became celebrated. But he himself, being not slightly skilled in "mathematics, left a work polished and perfect concerning the planets,

" the regions and the climates of the world, as a surviving monument of " his genius to posterity." And Ethelwold's life was written by " Wol- " stan, the chanter of Winchester, his pupil and scholar, in a style " moderately good. But Wolstan wrote another, a very useful work " upon the harmony of tones; in which he appears a man of a good " life, of a correct eloquence, and of much erudition *." Such a train of stars does Dunstan, that Hesperus, lead on to illuminate the darkness of the Saxon hemisphere! We particularly find the very colour of the clerical libraries, under one department of learning, reflected in the hue of the clerical publications. Thus astronomical studies appear at once

* De Script. Brit. 162: " ' Horum ergo disciplinatu (Hibernos et Anglos Glessoburgum " frequentantes intelligit) Sacram Scripturam medullitus ad extremam satietatem exhausit. " Sæcularium literarum quiddam negligendum, nonnihil etiam appetendum, putavit. " Poetarum siquidem scripta duntaxat, quæ fabulas strepunt, et artes, quæ citra utilitatem " animæ armant eloquium, transeunter audivit. Arithmeticam porro cum geometriâ et astro- " nomiâ ac musicâ, quæ appendent, gratanter addidicit et diligenter excoluit; et quippe " in illis, et magna exercitatio scientiæ, et veritatis integra castitas, et mirabilium Dei non " vana consideratio. Harum scientiam Hibernienses pro magno pollicentur, cæterum ad " formanda Latinè verba, et ad integrè loquendum, minus idonei. Quapropter, cùm " cæterarum tum maximè musices dulcedine captus, instrumenta ejus tum ipse exercere, tum " ab aliis exerceri, dulce habere: ipse citharam, si quando a literis vacaret, sumere; ipse " dulci strepitu resonantia fila quatere.—Doctrinam multam, sicut antè dictum est, per Dei " gratiam hauserat; quia in ejus cum strenuitate studii præcellebat vivacitas ingenii. Doc- " trinæ horrores duæ adminiculabantur, eloquentia elimata sed illaborata, dictorumque " executio prompta et integra'." Ibid. 163: " ' Solum omnium mortalium Dunstanum suæ " vitæ consiliarium elegit; illius commilitium, illius contubernium desiderans, ei convivere, " ei commori exæstuans. Venit igitur Glesconiam, et ibi grammaticam metricamque artem " edoctus, postremò etiam monachus factus'."—" Illud eximiæ planè laudis erat, quòd " literatos, literatus et ipse, maximi fecerit, inter quos et Alfricus grammaticus, Wolstanus " præcentor, et Ethelgarus—Novi monasterii quod Ventæ Simenorum enituit, fundatore " Alfredo Magno, abbas, clari fuerunt. Ipse verò, in mathesi non leviter eruditus, opus " elimatum et rotundum de planetis, regionibus et climatibus mundi, tanquam victurum " ingenii monumentum, posteritati reliquit." Ibid. 165: " ' Hujus vitam Wolstanus quidem " cantor Wintoniensis, discipulus ejus scilicet et alumnus, composuit stylo mediocri. " Fecit et aliud opus de tonorum harmoniâ, eruditi Angli judicium, homo vitæ bonæ et " eloquentiæ castigatæ'." Malmesbury's Life of Dunstan is one of the many pieces, biographical or historical, that still want an editor of spirit under a patronage from the public. The account of Wolstan is in Savile, 31, " *valde utile*, eruditi Angli *indicium*."

replenishing

replenishing their libraries with ancient works, and generating an addition of modern books to them; in the eighth and some succeeding centuries*. But, that we may not diffuse ourselves over too ample a space, let us fix our eyes upon a single century of this lower period, and (as in the higher) upon a single group of persons within it. The famous Roger Bacon, in a letter which he sent with some of his works

* Leland's Coll. ii. 400, from a letter of Alcuin's to Charlemagne: [Quoad] "chartulas "—calculationis cursûs lunaris, vel bisextilis rationis, quas nostræ devotioni tradidistis ex- "plorandas; invenimus—in eis rationes diligentissimè exquisitas, acutissimè inventas, "nobilissimè prolatas.—Direxi excellentiæ vestræ stamen quarundam supputationum, de "solis lunæque per signiferum cursu—:

"Vivere me terris vix vix sinit improba febris,
"Descripsi paucis partes et sydera cœli."

Gale, i. 728. Alcuin says thus concerning the archbishop of York, when he was master of the school there:

"Ast alios fecit præfatus nosse magister
"Harmoniam cœli, solis lunæque labores,
"Quinque poli zonas, errantia sidera septem,
"Astrorum leges, ortus, simul atque recessus."

Leland's Coll. iv. 17: "Tractatus *Jo. Pecham* de sphærâ. Theorica *Lincoln.* de latitudini- "bus planetarum. Tractatus *ejusdem* de sphærâ. *Alfraganus* de motibus cœlestium cor- "porum." 19: "*Alkindius* de juditiis astrorum. Tabulæ *magistri Simonis Bredon* de "rebus astronomicis.—*Alkindus* de radiis.—Commentum *Simonis Bredon* super aliquas "demonstrationes Almagesti Ptolemæi." 20: "Introductorium *Alcabitii* cum commento "*Joannis de Saxo.*—*Gebar* in speculativâ astronomiâ.—Tabula latitudinis quinque planeta- "rum, autore *Simone Bredon.*—Theorica planetarum in fronte adscriptus *Herfordensi*, in "fine *Lincolniensi* alias *Grostest.* Sequitur ibidem et alia Theorica; forsan illa [hæc] "*Lincolniensem* agnoscit autorem.—*Odyngton* de motibus planetarum, et ALMANACK re- "versionis eorum; quidam annotavit in margine, 'Fuit monachus, ut putatur, de Eve- "sham,' Lelandus, Est autem libellulus velut theorica ALMANACK *Profacii Judæi.* Tabula "motûs octavæ sphæræ, autore *Profacio Judæo.* Tabula æquationis domorum, cum canone "præcedente, per *magis. Joannem Wate.*" 22: "Tabulæ æquationum planetarum, autore "*Simone Bredon.* Astronomia calculatoria. Astronomia judiciaria. Perspectiva *Alacen.*" 23: "Commentarii et arculi rerum astronomicarum *ad miraculum doctè picti,*" which "præferebant *Brightferti,* monachi Ramesiensis, nomen," &c. &c. &c. One monk, even a poetical one, yet a severe student, in the reign of Richard I. attempted much *to square the circle*; "nullum non movens lapidem, quo tandem, si id fieri quidem posset, *circulum ab-* "*solveret.*" (De Script. Brit. 227.) See also Johnson's Canons, A. D. 957, for *Almanack* again.

to

to pope Clement, says he sent them by "a young man, whom I have "caused to be instructed in five or six languages, and in the mathematics, "and in *perspectives*, in which lies the whole difficulty of the papers "that I send; as undoubtedly there is no one among the Latin scholars, "who in all that I write can answer so many points as he, because of "the method which I observe, and because I have instructed him, "though he is only twenty, or at most twenty-one years of age. There "was not one at *Paris*, who knew more of the foundations of philoso- "phy, though he has not yet produced flowers and fruits because of his "youth. He has brought with him *a crystal sphere* to shew *some experi- "ments*, and I have instructed him in the *demonstration* and *figuration* "of *the secret point*; nor is there *one* in *Italy*, nor are there *two* at *Paris*, "who can assign a competent reason in this matter." But "in the TWO "years, during which I have been *particularly* engaged in the study of "wisdom, neglecting all vulgar attentions to money, I have expended "more than TWO THOUSAND POUNDS in *books of secrets*, in *a variety of* "*experiments*, and in *languages*, and *instruments*, and *tables*, and *other* "means of obtaining the friendship of the wise, and of instructing the "minds of my hearers*." So expensively was a Roger Bacon reared, into all his eminence of learning! So high-set was the soul of this monk, in its aspirations after knowledge! And to such heights did it actually soar, by throwing off that clog to all literary enterprise at present, the love of money! But, as Roger informs us additionally concerning his cotemporaries, "of Christians the most famous for

* Leland's Coll. iii. 334: "Unum adolescentem—quinque aut sex instrui feci in linguis, "et mathematicis, et perspectivis in quibus est tota difficultas earum [eorum] quæ mitto; "nam proculdubio nullus est inter Latinos, qui in omnibus quæ scribo possit ad tot "respondere, propter modum quem teneo, et quia eum instruxi, quamvis viginti annorum "aut 21 ad plus. Non remansit unus Parisiis, qui plus novit de philosophiæ radicibus, "quamvis flores et fructus nondum produxerit propter juvenilem ætatem—. Portavit cry- "stallum sphericum ad experiendum, et instruxi eum in demonstratione et figuratione rei "occultæ; nec est aliquis in totâ Italiâ, aut Parisiis duo, qui possunt dare causam suffi- "cientem in hâc parte." Ibid. 333: "Nam per duos annos, quibus specialiter laboravi "in studio sapientiæ, neglecto censu vulgi, plus quàm duo millia librarum ego posui in "his propter libros secretos, experientias varias, et linguas, et instrumenta, et tabulas, et "alia tum ad quærendum amicitias sapientum tum propter instruendos auditores."

"wisdom,"

" wisdom," of *Christians* as opposed to *Saracens*, " one is friar Albert, " of the order of preachers, another is William de Shirwoode, treasurer " of the church of Lincoln in *England*," a notice that implies the former to be no Englishman, " a man far wiser than Albert.—For there " are but two perfect, namely, Mr. John London and Mr. Peter de " Macharii Curiâ in Picardy." London was the young man whom Bacon sent with his letter to the pope, and of whom he wrote so highly to him; " though he came a youth of fifteen to me," says Bacon, " and poor, as having no livelihood †."—" No one," as Bacon subjoins, " knew the sciences, except lord Robert bishop of Lincoln; because " from the length of his life and experience, from his studiousness and " his diligence, he knew mathematics as well as perspectives, and could " know any thing; together with this, that he knew so much of lan- " guages, as to be able to understand the saints, the philosophers, or " the wise men of antiquity. Yet he knew not languages well enough " to translate, except about the close of life; when he *invited Greeks* " *into this country*, and caused *books of Greek grammar to be collected in* " *Greece and other regions* *." Or, as Bacon enlarges his catalogue of learned English in another work, plainly posterior, " some of the wise " men of ancient times we have seen in our own days, as lord Robert " *formerly* bishop of Lincoln, lord Thomas bishop of St. David's in " Wales, and friar Adam de Marisco, and Mr. Robert de Marisco, and " Mr. Lu ," Mr. John London above mentioned, " and William de " Shirwoode, and others ‡." Such a train of stars appeared equally led by

† Coll. iii. 333: " Sapientes famosiores Christianos, quorum unus est frater Albertus " de ordine prædicatorum, alius est Wilhelmus de Shirwoode, thesaurarius Lincoln. ecclesiæ " in Angliâ, longè sapientior Alberto.—Non sunt enim nisi duo perfecti, scilicet, Mr. " Joannes London, et Mr. Petrus de Macharii Curiâ Picardus." Ibid. 334: " Juvenis 15 " annorum venit ad me, et pauper, non habens unde viveret."

* Leland's Coll. iii. 334: " Nullus scientias [scivit], nisi dominus Robertus, episcopus " Lincoln: per longitudinem vitæ et experientiæ, et studiositatem, et diligentiam, quia " scivit mathematicam et perspectivam, et potuit omnia scire; simul cum hôc, quòd tan- " tum scivit de linguis, quòd potuit intelligere sanctos et philosophos et sapientes antiquos. " Sed non bene scivit linguas ut transferret, nisi circa ultimum vitæ suæ; quando vocavit " Græcos, et fecit libros grammaticæ Græcæ, de Græciâ et aliis [regionibus] congregari."

‡ Coll. iii. 335: " Antiquorum sapientum—aliquos vidimus nostri temporis, scilicet " D. Robertum

by Roger Bacon as by Dunstan before! But to both these constellations let me add a single star that is little known, yet by its light displays the wonderful keenness of a monk for mathematical learning. "Daniel, denominated Morley from his native village," says Leland, "in his youth attended the schools of Oxford very studiously; in his "maturer years went to Paris; and at last, inflamed with an unusual "thirst for mathematics, turned his thoughts to the Arabs, the first for "erudition in that age, whose discipline was then flourishing greatly in "Spain, at their very ample city of Toledo. Going therefore to Toledo, "he ransacked the shelves of the Arabs, and at last found what he had "so solicitously sought. Hence feeling a desire for revisiting his country, "in his return he meets with John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich" from 1175 to 1200, "by whom he was received with great liberality, as John "himself was studious of mathematical knowledge. In convenient "time, therefore, Daniel published two books, one upon the inferior "part of the world, the other upon the superior, and dedicated them "to the bishop ‖." Such an amazing range of light did the cometary mind of this monk take, to return with augmented lustre and regain its goal!

The superior, and even the common monks, came at last to have their private or personal libraries; a fact that is the consummation of evidence in favour of their fondness for literature. A point, indeed, so minute

"D. Robertum quondam episcopum Lincoln. D. Thomam episcopum S. David in Walliâ, "et fratrem Adam de Marisco, et magistrum Robertum de Marisco, et Mr. Lù. et Gul. "de Shirwoode, et alios."

‖ De Script. Brit. 244: "Daniel, Morilegus a natali villâ dictus, Isiacas juvenis scholas "studiosissimè excoluit; maturior annis factus, Lutetiam Parisiorum invisit. Postremò "mathematicæ artis cupiditate insolitæ tactus, animum ad Arabes, eâ ætate imprimis eru- "ditos adjecit; quorum et disciplina tunc latè in Hispaniâ, quà stat Toletum civitas am- "plissima, floruit. Profectus igitur Toletum, Arabum scrinia excussit, et quod quærebat "maximè, tandem invenit. Hinc enata repetendi patriam cura: cui dum subservit, inter "redeundum fit obviam Joanni Oxoniensi, episcopo Nordovicano; a quo liberalissimè "acceptus est, studebat enim et ipse rei mathematicæ. Unde, nactâ temporis opportuni- "tate, duos libellos, unum de inferiori, alterum de superiori parte mundi, edidit, ac Joanni "Nordovicano consecravit."

in the domestic economy of a monastery, we cannot expect to see exhibited often in the "crystal sphere" of history; but it *is* exhibited, and that is sufficient: we see it first in a form very humble, yet at a period very early, and with the person of a common though very dignified monk. Bede, that prince of historians concerning our isle, and that first of religious men born within it *, appears to have had his study in a building erected for the purpose, detached from the monastery, and therefore furnished with his own collection of books. It is a singular incident in the history of this saint and historian combined, that not the rude barbarity of the Danes, not the headlong violence of the Normans, though both were exerted about his monastery, had destroyed his study: it remained entire to the very days of Leland, a building low in its pitch, small in its size, and vaulted in its roof. In this state it was his oratory, as well as his study; being remembered peculiarly as his oratory by the tradition of Leland's days; and having even then what served to give the *religious* part of the tradition a predominance over the *literary*, "an "altar within it, but neglected, yet bearing in the middle of its front "a piece of serpentine marble," a marble of a dusky green in the ground, and of a lively green in the spots, "inlaid into the substance of it †." This, therefore, was the altar at which Bede, equally devout and learned, happily sensible amidst all his learning that he derived his intellect and the illumination of it from the awful "Father of lights," kneeled down every morning and evening to him. Nor had he this altar, as we are naturally induced by the circumstances to suppose at first, merely because he lived out of the abbey, and was therefore precluded from the public prayers of the chapel; he carefully attended the public, we may be sure from this very attention to private. But he had an altar for his

* See iv. 2, a note at the end.

† De Script. Brit. 118: "Illud certè propiùs ad miraculum accedit, quòd nec Dacorum "violentia, nec ferocia Gulielmi Magni Nortmanni, ita Girovicensis cœnobii, quod vulgò "nunc *Jarwe* vocatur, ædificia omnia concusserit; quin adhuc Bedæ oratorium extet, "humile quidem opus, et cameratum, utcunque tamen integrum; in quo et hodie altare "est, sed neglectum, et in altaris medio crusta ophiitici marmoris. *Hæc nos in gra-*"*tiam lectoris antiquitatis studiosi.*" It is also called "casula" and "mansiuncula" hereafter.

private devotions in addition to the chapel for his public; and a similar incident in the biography of a similar saint, shews this evidently to be the reason for both. Adhelm, the founder, as well as abbot of Malmesbury, had equally an altar for himself, and equally left it a relic to posterity; the abbey shewing equally to the eyes of Leland himself Adhelm's "altar, a very small one, made" wholly "of" that "serpentine marble," which was only inlaid in a small piece into the other, "but bound about "with a belt of silver, on which appeared an inscription in Latin‡:" but the same room was also that in which he slept, and in which he died. During his last moments he is described by the narrator of them, a person actually attending upon him at the time, as desiring to be lifted out of bed, and to be rested sitting upon the floor at the opposite side of the room; that, as he expressed himself, "on the holy spot at which I "have been used to pray I may now invoke my Father." Thither he was carried accordingly, and rested upon a rug; from thence he invoked, and there he died invoking *. Such was the happy, the glorious conclusion of life to this first of scholars! "Let me die the death of the "righteous, and may my last end be like his!"

> The chamber where the good man meets his fate
> Is privileg'd beyond the common walk
> Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of heaven.

Yet this chamber has been destroyed since the days of Leland, and what had been spared for its sanctity (I suppose) by Normans, by Danes, has fallen under the hands of ignorant reformers. Camden notes it not;

‡ De Script. Brit. 100: "Altare, sed minutitum, ex ophitico marmore, argento "revinctum, in quo Latina inscriptio apparet. Hæc," this and other relics, "ego nuper "Meilduni vidi."

* Leland's Coll. iv. 79: "'Multum me delectat sedere ex adverso, sancto meo loco in "quo orare solebam; ut et ego sedens Patrem meum invocare possim.' Et sic in pavimento "suæ casulæ decantans—spiritum—suum e corpore exhalavit." The passage is also in Simeon Dunelmensis, i. 15, Twisden, and in Smith's Bede, with this useful addition from Malmesbury, that Bede was rested sitting on the floor by the altar, "cilicio subjecto decum-"bens, illibato sensu et hilari vultu." (P. 803.) So a bishop of Durham, "uno fermè "antequam moreretur mense, se in ecclesiam jussit transportari; ubi residens *contra* altare, "ex profundo cordis erumpens in gemitum," &c. (Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 709.)

no traveller, no biographer has noted it since; but Simeon, the historical monk of Durham, had noticed it before, and (what is very remarkable) noticed it only as his study. "Even the place," he cries, without seeming to know what *we* know from Leland, "is shewn at "this day, where he had *his little mansion of stone*, and, free from all "disturbance, was accustomed to *sit*, to *meditate*, to *read*, to *dictate*, "and to *write* †." The very chair, too, in which he used to sit for that purpose within this room, "a rude oaken chair called Bede's," is preserved to this moment, though the room itself is gone; being "carefully locked up" in "the vestry" of the old monastic chapel, converted into a parish-church, but very recently rebuilt ‡. And this was the very object, as I remark with satisfaction, that first served like a soliciting wire to call forth the electrical sparks of antiquarianism, then lying latent in my soul, even to call them forth with a liveliness *so* bright, or with an explosion so loud, as to be recollected with great vivacity by me on this occasion. The chair being mentioned in a provincial newspaper of 1745, as seized for a popish relic, and for a popish relic intended to be burned by a mob of protestant fools; even then, at ten years of age, my mind fastened upon the fact, and my memory retraces it now in the impressions made then. Such was the study of a Bede, once furnished with a variety of books, and so enabling him, with an occasional reference to the library of the abbey, to follow his variety of pursuits in literature! This, however, was a bedchamber, an oratory, and a study in one. The next step in improvement would be to appropriate a room entirely for a study; even while the less rich or the less refined continued to study in the open cloysters, had some of the windows to them occasionally glazed for their convenience in studying, and even had books appropriated to the cloysters, with desks fastened on the walls for their studying there §. But Bede's

† Simeon, i. 14: "Ostenditur etiam locus hodie, ubi de lapide mansiuncula habens, "ab omni inquietudine liber, sedere, meditari, legere, dictare consueverat, et scribere."

‡ Gough, iii. 124, from Grose.

§ Ducarrel, 29, for "old stone desks," at the cloysters of St. Audoen in Rouen, and for the

Bede's model of a study was not much altered for ages afterward, even with bishops themselves. Richard Bury, who became bishop of Durham in 1333, who was so dignified in mind as against all advice to refrain from all solicitations for this or for any bishopric, who was likewise so prodigal of spirit as always to wait upon the pope, or even the cardinals at Rome, "with twenty *clerks of his own*, in *garments of one* "*suit*, and with thirty-six *esquires* in *another suit*;" yet "was so "highly delighted with a multitude of books, as by common report to "have more than all the other prelates put together, keeping many in "separate repositories at his different manors, but at the place of his "temporary residence leaving *so many on the floor of his bedchamber*, "as hardly allowed the enterer *to stand or walk without trampling upon* "*a book*‖." It was altered, however, soon after that period. "Out "of this hall," notes Battely in his description of the priory at Christchurch in Canterbury before 1411, "there was by some stone-steps a "passage into a stone-chamber," like Bede's, "called Le Paved Cham-"ber," being floored (as Bede's assuredly was) with a "pavement;" and "the prior's BEDCHAMBER-STUDY, and some other rooms for his "private apartment, seem to have been contiguous to the paved cham-"ber;" or, as the words of Battely's original, the Obituary, more pointedly as well as more accurately announce, "a room of stone, "which is called Le Pavid Chamber, with two other chambers," not so paved, as leaving the name of Le Pavid Chamber to that, "and the "prior's *bed in his dormitory*, with THE STUDY and other rooms *an-*

the "Benedictines" having "anciently a custom" to study in the cloysters "at stated times "in the day." Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 141: "Juvenis, habitum monasticum susci-"piens, cœpit virtutum moribus florescere, et per *studium claustralis residentiæ* fluenta scrip-"turarum sitebundo corde haurire;" 146, "australem—partem claustri ad usum studio-"sorum confratrum vitream fecit," 640, "ad inspectionem claustralium librorum," &c.

‖ Wharton, i. 765: "Summe delectabatur in multitudine librorum, plures enim libros "habuit (ut passim dicebatur) quàm omnes pontifices Angliæ; et præter eos quos habuit in "diversis maneriis suis repositos separatim, ubicunque cum suâ familiâ residebat tot libri "jacebant in camerâ quâ dormivit, quòd ingredientes vix stare poterant vel insedere nisi "librum aliquem pedibus conculcarent." 766, "Venit ipse cum xx clericis suis in vesti-"bus unius sectæ, et xxxvi armigeris alterius sectæ.—Respondit se nec pro illo episcopatu, "nec pro aliquo alio, literas missurum."

"*nexed*,"

Study. "*nexed*," all equally not paved *. In this form, so plainly an improvement just above Bede's, did all the priors in the kingdom, we may be sure, possess each of them a study: but it soon improved at Canterbury, and probably at other places. "In the" same "Obituary we read," cries Battely again concerning the same priory, but still without seeming to know the curiousness of his own notices, "that," between 1472 and 1494, "—prior Selling built from the ground—a *stone tower*, which "was covered with lead, and which had fair glass-windows; and that "he *decently adorned it in the inside*; and that this was called THE "PRIOR'S STUDY.—There the prior had his UPPER STUDY, and his LOWER "STUDY, which had shelves and cases for books and writings, and "wherein several records relating to the priory, even a vast number of "them, were stored up †." A prior of Ely, just a little before, is equally said to have "built *a new chamber*,—where he sometimes held "*spiritual* discourses with his brethren upon the *rights* of the church, "the *profits* and the *concerns* of the church; he had there HIS STUDY "also, for inspecting his books *at his leisure* ‡." The example thus set by the priors and monks, we find followed at last by the very laity themselves; though the laity were for ages so ignorant in comparison with the clergy, that to be a *clerk* implied a man to be a scholar, and to be a *layman* imported him to be illiterate. Thus even a bishop of Durham, who died in 1383, is reported by his historian to have been "chaste, "but *laical*, as he *understood* not the Latin language, and with difficulty "could *pronounce* it §." Yet we have two *studies* among the laity, striking

* Battely, 92: "'Juxta aulam, prioris ædem lapideam quæ vocatur Le Pavid Chamber, "cum duabus aliis cameris, lectumque prioris in dormitorio, cum studio et aliis domibus "annexis'."

† Battely, 93, 94.

‡ Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 649: "Fecit—fieri unam novam cameram—, ubi quandoque "cum fratribus suis spirituales habuit tractatus, jura ecclesiæ et utilitates ac negotia ecclesiæ "necessaria concernentes; habuit etiam ibidem studium suum pro libris cum sibi vaca-"verat inspiciendis." Even Newcome notices his abbot's *study*, p. 211.

§ Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 761: "Castus erat, sed laicus, Latinum non intelligens, "sed cum difficultate pronuncians." Of this "difficulty" we have two instances; one is this, "Cùm in consecratione suâ profiteri debuit, quamvis *per multos dies antè instructorem* "*habuisset*,

striking in their nature, and early in their date; we see a noble among them about the same period with both these priors, having such a propensity for reading as to form for himself a study, like one of the priors above, in a tower, even in one of the towers of his castle; taking such a delight in his study as to call it PARADISE, and disposing it in a manner so very ingenious, as is worthy of the taste of the present day. "The "castle of Wresehill," says Leland under Yorkshire, "is al of very fair "and greate squarid stone, both withyn and withowte, wherof (as "sum hold opinion) much was brought owt of Fraunce. In the castelle "be only 5 towers, one at eche corner, almost of like biggenes. The "gatehouse is the 5, having 5 longginges [or stories] yn high [highth]; "3 of the other towers have 4 highes [heights] in longginges; the 4 "conteinith the botery, pantery, pastery, lardery, and kechyn. The "haule and the great chaumbers be fair, and so is the chapel, and the "closettes," for my lord's family in the chapel. "To conclude, the "house is one of the most propre beyound Trente, and semith as newly "made: yet was it made by a youngger brother of the Percys, erle of "Wiccester," by Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, "that was yn high "favor with Richard the Secunde, and bought the maner of Wrese-"hil—. One thing I *likid* excedingly yn one of the *towers*, that was A "STUDY caullid *Paradise*, wher was *a closet in the midle of* 8 *squares* "*latisid aboute*, and at the top of every square was a desk ledgid," that is, with a ledging to it, "*to set bookes on cofers withyn them*; and these "semid as *joinid hard to the toppe of the closet*, and yet, by pulling, "*one* or *all* wold *cum downe briste higthe* in *rabettes*, and *serve for* "*deskes to lay bokes on**." This description is singularly curious in itself, either as it lays open to our eyes all the interiors of a nobleman's

"*habuisset, legere nescivit*; et cùm, auriculantibus aliis," or prompted by others, "*cum* "*difficultate* ad illud verbum *metropoliticæ* pervenisset, et *diu anhelans pronunciare non* "*posset*, dixit in Gallico," as being a Frenchman, "*seit pur dite*. Stupebant omnes cir-"cumstantes, dolentes talem in episcopum consecrandum." This is a curious proof of the *laical* state of his education. Another occurs immediately thus: "Cùm similiter celebraret "ordines, nec illud verbum *in ænigmate* proferre posset; dixit circumstantibus, *par Seynt* "*Lowys il ne fu pas curteis, qui ceste parole ici escrit.*"

* Itin. i. 55.

castle,

castle, or as it delineates to our mind the study of a nobleman, literary, refined, and magnificent †. The whole island at present cannot furnish one private library, I believe, more artfully contrived in parts, or more elegantly disposed in the whole, than this "study," with a "closet" or enclosed space "in the midle" of the room, with "8 squares, latisid "aboute" at the sides of the room; and with "a desk ledgid," seemingly "yoinid hard to the toppe of the closet," actually standing one "at the top of every square," yet coming down "in rabettes" on being pulled, resting at the "briste higthe" of a man, and there "serving for "deskes to lay" those "bokes on," which were "on cofers withyn" the squares. Nor was this the only *paradise* of the kind within the kingdom; there was another at "Lekingfeld," near York, once belonging probably to the very same earl, as it certainly belonged afterwards to his nearest relations the earls of Northumberland ‡. There Leland equally notices "A LITLE STUDIYNG CHAUMBER—, caullid *Paradice*," and in it "the genealogie of the *Percys* §." So very literary was the house of Percy in general, or so very literary was this younger son of it in particular! If, however, such a taste for letters, such a love of a library, appears in a laical, noble, and a military family, we may be sure they predominated among the clergy, and the briskness of the current proclaims the vivacity of the fountain.

To this evidence, so powerful in its nature, so comprehensive in its reach, it is almost impossible to make any additions; I shall therefore attempt only to give the whole a roundness and a finishing, by subjoining a few notices, miscellaneous, new, and curious, yet all concurring to shew a spirit of literary refinement predominant in the monasteries. In the very list of articles carried off by the royal housebreaker from

† Leland's Itin. i. 55: "The garde robe in the castelle was exceedingly fair, and so wer "the gardeins withyn the mote, and the orchardes withoute; and yn the orchardes were "mountes *opere topiario*, writhen about with degrees like turninges of cockilshilles, to cum "to the top without payn." These I suppose to have been the first in the kingdom, and from Leland's manner believe them to be very rare even in his days.

‡ Camden, 577.

§ Leland's Itin. i. 48.

convents

convents and cathedrals in the west, we find "a great piece of an *uni-* "*corne-horne*, as it is supposed ‖." This appears to have been considered as very valuable, because it was an object of plunder for a monarch. All the literary and curious spirit of Henry was drowned in a deluge of sacrilegious avarice. But in the inventory of plunder procured at Winchester, I observe two similar articles that again unite with notices ancient or modern to mark the actual existence of an animal which is reputed a mere nonentity now: "Item," for these thieves, acting under the authority of law, carried on their larcenies, petty and grand, in the regular form of mercantile transactions, keeping their ledgers, and entering their "items" in them, "one pastoral *staff* of *an* "*unicorne's horn*—, item, one rector's *staff* of *unicorne's horn* ¶." To these

‖ Stephens's Additions to Monasticon, i. 84.

¶ Hist. of Winchester, i. 26. That an animal, which is so frequently noticed in itself by the ancients, and, in its horn at least, so familiarly known to the moderns as late as the Reformation, should now be universally considered to have been fabulous from the first, is one of the most extraordinary incidents in the world of letters. Mentioned by Job (xxxix. 9, 10), by Moses (Numbers, xxiii. 22, Deut. xxxiii. 17), by David (Psalm xxii. 21, xxix. 6, xcii. 10), and by Isaiah (xxxiv. 7), as an animal actually existent, and sufficiently known for a transient reference; even characterized by three of them as fierce, strong, and dangerous; even described in its appearance by Pliny with a minuteness reflected plainly from a real view; it has yet, in the opinion of all, vanished like a vision from the face of nature. The fact is assuredly, that it still lives unseen by Europeans in the woods or wilds of its native India; that from them it was formerly made known to the ancients by the singularity of its horn, with an accompanying account of its predominating qualities; and that it was equally made known to the moderns in the same manner. "Orsei Indi," says the only describer of it, Pliny, viii. 21, "—venantur—*asperrimam*—feram monocerotem, reliquo cor- "pore *equo similem*, capite *cervo*, pedibus elephanto, caudâ apro, mugitu gravi, uno cornu "*nigro mediâ fronte cubitorum duûm eminente*. Hanc feram *vivam negant capi*." This appears from the black horn, the stag's head, and the general similitude to a horse, to have been the very original from which all our delineations of the unicorn have been derived, and the arms of our sovereigns are to this day decorated by the pencil of Pliny. Yet how could such a horn as Pliny's be formed into a "staff?" Could it only in the manner by which a sapphire-stone is in iii. 2, before, by constituting the cross part of one above? No! In Germany we find a kind of grotto-chapel, in which are an altar, a crucifix, and two candlesticks, "all three made out of the horn of an unicorn." (Keysler, i. 86.) This proves at once what Pliny's description and our own delineations tell us, the great length of the horn. Pliny's, indeed, as *two cubits* in length generally, and perhaps *more than two* occasionally,

these the catalogue of booty from the west adds, " the *same* day, of " the *said* stuffe, a pece of *mother of perle*, like *a shell*—; the *same* " day, of the *same* stuffe, *eight* braunches of *faire currall* *." These must have been much more rare and precious then than they are at present, I apprehend; to be reposited as curiosities in the *musæums* of the clergy, and to be seized as merchandise highly profitable by the king. But I see another that makes no " item" in the list of articles stolen, because it would produce nothing upon the merchant's counter, yet which may really excite the wonder, and challenge the imitation of the present age. In the church of Canterbury was exhibited, down to the Reformation, as Leland tells us, " a *globe of crystal*, hollow within, and " *containing an apple in the hollow*, among the offerings made to Thomas " a Becket. And when I asked the exhibitor of the curiosities in the " church, what was the meaning of the miraculous object, he replied, " that it was an oblation formerly made to the martyr by John Man- " deville," the famous traveller, who was born at St. Alban's, went abroad in 1322, staid abroad thirty-four years, and afterwards published an account of his travels. " Whose donation soever it was, *it is* " *a wonderful thing* to behold an apple *preserved from rotting through* " *so many years:* the total exclusion of the air is possibly the cause of it †." In the same church, too, but in the quire of it, where the stalls of the

would easily furnish materials for an altar from its very thick part at the base, for a crucifix from its middle parts, and for a couple of candlesticks from its upper; but would more easily serve as a staff, rising about a yard in height. The unicorn then, though as little known in person to Europe now, as is the *chaus*, or the *cephus*, the latter of which was exhibited *once*, but the former *frequently*, at Rome, before the days of Pliny (viii. 19), yet infinitely better known in all ages of European history by the singleness of its horn, is not that rhinoceros with which it has been generally confounded from a mere amazement at its disappearance, but from which it is actually discriminated by the pen of Pliny (viii. 19); lying hid merely in the woods of India, as the *cephus* equally lies in the wilds of Ethiopia, and ready to come forth one day perhaps with the *cephus*, for the amazement of a disbelieving Europe.

* Steevens, i. 85.

† Leland De Script. Brit. 368: " Quòd Duroverni—crystallinum orbem, sed concavum, " cum malo intus recondito, inter munera Thomæ Becketo consecrata, repererim. Cùm- " que a mystagogo rogâssem, quid miraculi esset; respondebat, oblatum illud olim munus- " culum martyri a Joanne Mandevillâ. Cujus cujus erat munus, mira res videre malum " per tot annos a carie salvum. Fieri potest, ut spiritus omnino exclusus in causâ sit."

monks

monks remained to the year 1704, and where the lead of the roof appeared to have melted so much in the fire of 1174, as to have run into the joints of the pavement, and to have been discovered there on altering a part of the pavement about 1706; the pavement immediately adjoining to the altar-rail is laid even *at present*, " with large slabs of " a—stone,—which—has so much the appearance of the grain of wood, " as to be taken by some for a petrifaction; but—many stones of this " kind were taken up" not long ago, "—and many of them were capa- " ble of a polish *little inferior to that of agate.* The edges [run] in " curious strata, and the tops of many are beautifully clouded. The " connoisseurs have called them by different names; some, *antique ala-* " *baster agate;* others, the *Sicilian;* others, the *Egyptian agate;* and " the traveller Dr. Pocock, late bishop of Meath, *diaspro fiorito,* or the " flowered jasper ‡." The very variation of opinions concerning the quality of the stone proves the extraordinary singularity of it; but in the library at Croyland, so early as 1091, we see *a celestial globe* actually fabricated of *metal,* and incidentally mentioned in such magnificent terms as arrest our admiration very powerfully. " We then lost," says Ingulphus, from a familiar knowledge of the globe before a fire consumed the library, " a very fine and very costly *pinax,* wonderfully " formed of every kind of metal, according to the variety of signs or " stars; for Saturn was of copper, Jupiter of gold, Mars of iron, Sol " of brass, Mercury of *electrum,*" a mixed metal, of four fifths gold and one fifth silver, " Venus of tin, but Luna of silver. The colures " with all the signs of the zodiac, received from the dexterity of the " man who made it, their images and their colours in various forms or " figures, according to their natures; and, by their multiplicity of gems " or metals, inconceivably attracted the eyes, as well as gratified the " minds of all spectators: *there was not such* a *nadir* known or noticed " *in all England.* The king of France had formerly given it to Turketyl, " but he at his death had bequeathed it to *the common library,* as at " once ornamental to the room, and *useful for lectures* to the younger " monks: yet it was now melted, consumed, and destroyed by the

‡ Gostling, 302, 301, 299, 246.

 " devouring

" devouring fire §." The abbies thus became the repositories of the finest productions of nature and of art. But let me rather mention what comes more immediately to their character for learning, that the monks were artists themselves, the planners, the executors of many ingenious works; their own carvers, their own clock-makers, their own architects. I have formerly observed, upon the express evidence of history, that Dunstan, the monk of Canterbury, was " dexterous in every ma-" nual operation,—could form pictures or inscriptions, imprint them " with a graver upon gold, silver, brass, or iron, and indeed execute " any thing ‖." So likewise, in 1070, we find an abbot of Abingdon " a wonderful artist in *fabrications of silver and gold* ¶." Mann too, abbot of Evesham in the reign of the Confessor, and reported to have died in the same night, at the same hour with the Confessor himself, " had been introduced into most of the sacred and liberal arts, excelling " in the knowledge of singing, of writing, of painting, and *working up* " *articles in gold* *." And Cuthbert, who succeeded Walstod as prelate of Hereford in 742, " *finished with his own hand* many ornaments of " the church which Walstod had left *unfinished with his* at death; and " among these was *a bannere cross,—composed of silver, gold, or* " *jewels* †." We find also " compendious tables for the instrument " called

§ Ingulphus, 98: " Pulcherrimum—pinacem tunc perdidimus, et valde sumptuosum, de " omni genere metalli pro varietate siderum et signorum mirabiliter fabrefactum. Saturnus " enim cupreus, Jupiter autem aureus, Mars verò ferrugineus, Sol de auricalco, Mercurius " electrinus, Venus de stanno, et Luna fuit de argento. Coluri, et omnia signa zodiaci, " juxta suas naturas, suas imagines et colores variis formis et figuris arte fabrili sortientes, " multiplicitate tam gemmarum quàm metallorum, et tam oculos quàm ingenia spectan-" tium supra modum solicitabant. Non erat tale *nader* in totâ Angliâ notum aut nomina-" tum. Rex Franciæ quondàm Turketulo dederat; at ille in suo obitu communi biblio-" thecæ, tam pro ornamento quàm pro juniorum documento, commendârat. Jam igne " vorace consumptum [fuit], et in nihilum liquefactum."

‖ See ii. 3, before.

¶ Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 167: " In auri argentique fabricio operator mirificus."

* Monasticon, i. 151: " Sacris liberisque plurimis artibus fuerat imbutus, videlicet can-" toris, scriptoris, pictoris, aurique fabrilis operis, scientiâ pollens."

† Leland De Script. Brit. 134: " Ornamenta verò ecclesiæ multa, quæ moriens Valstodus " imperfecta reliquit, ipse perfecit; inter quæ vexillum crucis erat, ut his testatur carmi-" nibus,

" called *albion*," by which is meant (says Leland) the clock at St. Alban's; and " a tract by Richard Walingford, concerning the com- " position and conclusions of the instrument *albion* *." Wallingford was the very maker of the clock, after he had become the abbot of the monastery. Then, as Leland himself informs us, from an inspection of his clock and a perusal of his tract, " willing to give a *miraculous* proof " of his genius, of his learning, and of his manual operations, with great " labour, greater expense, and very great art, he formed such a fabric " of a clock, that *all Europe* in my opinion *cannot shew one even second* " *to it*; whether you note *the course of the sun and moon*, or *the fixed* " *stars*, and whether you consider again *the increase or decrease of the* " *sea*, or *the lines with the figures and demonstrations almost infinitely* " *diversified*. And when he had completed a work *truly worthy of* " *immortality*, he wrote and published in a book, as he was *the very* " *first of all the mathematicians of his time*, a set of canons, lest so fine " a piece of mechanism should be lowered in the erroneous opinion of " the monks, or should be stopped in its movements from their igno- " rance in the order of its structure †."

But

" nibus, quæ ego non modò in quarto libro Gulielmi Meildunensis de pontificibus Anglo- " rum offendi," see them in Savile, 162, " verùm cùm nuper Meildunum inviserem,—in " vetustissimo libro sacrorum epigrammatôn reperi.

" Hæc veneranda crucis Christi vexilla sacratæ
" Cœperat antistes venerandus nomine Walstod,
" Argenti atque auri fabricare monilibus amplis," &c.

* Leland's Coll. iv. 20: " 'Tabulæ compendiosæ pro instrumento albion'." Leland: " Intelligit horologium Sancti Albani. 'Tractatus Richardi Walingford de compositione et " conclusionibus instrumenti *albion*'."

† Leland De Script. Brit. 404, 405: " Cùm jam per amplas licebat fortunas, voluit " illustri aliquo opere non modò ingenii, verùm etiam eruditionis ac artis excellentis, mira- " culum ostendere. Ergo talem horologii fabricam magno labore, majore sumptu, arte " verò maximâ, compegit, qualem non habet tota (meâ opinione) Europa secundum; sive " quis cursum solis ac lunæ, seu fixa sidera, notet, sive iterum maris incrementa et decre- " menta, seu lineas unà cum figuris ac demonstrationibus ad infinitum pœnè variis, consi- " deret. Cùmque opus æternitate dignissimum ad umbilicam perduxisset, canones (ut " erat in mathesi omnium sui temporis facilè primus) edito in hoc libro scripsit; ne tam " insignis machina errore monachorum vilesceret, aut incognito structuræ ordine sileret."

Yet

But I hasten to close all my account, with one fact worthy to be the close of all. Alan de Walsingham, monk of Ely in 1322, formed the

Yet Mr. Newcome, p. 230, speaks thus concerning the clock: "As a specimen of his in-"genuity, he is *said* to have *invented*," not, as the fact is, invented *and fabricated*, "a clock "that was a miracle of art; it exhibited the course of the sun and moon, the rising and "setting of the fixed stars *and planets*, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and, in short, the "figures, *operations* and *effects* of *all the heavenly bodies*." As Mr. Newcome, throughout his whole work, adopts the fashionable and fallacious mode of *general* reference; and, as in all this part of it he writes from an historian never published yet, but lying secreted among the king's manuscripts in the British Musæum (p. 173, 174); he *may* have spoken here, however, beyond the bounds of Leland's accounts, yet within the lines of authority and truth. "He had begun this clock *early in life*," or (as Leland says), only after he became abbot, and so was rich enough to begin it. "As we have no scientific description of this "piece of mechanism, *handed down to us*, we can form no judgment of its merits." Yet Walingford himself wrote such a description, and this was existing in the days of Leland. The latter saw it, as he tells us himself, "in bibliothecâ Collegii de Clare," at Cambridge. (Coll. iv. 19, 20.) He had read it there, as appears from his account above, and from this farther account. Concerning the description, he says, "Joannes Stubius, mathematicus, "multa refert; inciderat ille in exemplar, sed mutilum, unde quod deerat in *albione*," the name of the description as well as of the clock, "supplevit; pars *albionis* instrumenti," Leland meaning still the description, "saphe dicta, Norembergæ impressa est" (p. 405); part being printed at Nuremberg, and the whole existing in manuscript before, and in the days of Leland; Mr. Newcome should have searched the libraries for the tract, especially that at Cambridge, in which Leland saw it, to gratify his "scientific" readers, or at least to "form" his own "judgment of its merits." But it was more *easy* to *suppose* there was *no* "scientific description," and to found even its very existence upon *report*. Yet his own description is surely sufficient in itself, for every reader *not* "scientific," and for every one who wishes to "form" his "judgment of its merits" *in general*. It is even sufficient for Mr. Newcome himself, in Mr. Newcome's own opinion; he who says, "we can form "no judgment of its merits," for want of a scientific description, saying afterwards, "it "would appear, however, to have been a masterpiece for that age," and thus pronouncing upon its merits at once.—See also Leland's Itin. iii. 117, for another clock made by another monk at Glastonbury, and thus noticed by an inscription on the south part of the transept under the clock, "Horologium; Petrus Lightfote monachus fecit hoc opus." This I suppose to be the very clock that is still preserved in the cathedral of Wells, and is there reported to have been brought from Glastonbury. On a large horizontal plate it exhibits horsemen coursing round the plate, while the time is announced by the clock, &c. This is, as that at Glastonbury was, *within* the church, and, like it, near the quire. "Longitudo "brachiorum *juxta chorum*," says Worcestre, 29, concerning Glastonbury, "a boreâ in "meridiem, versus *Le Orlage*," only one therefore, "96 gressus."

plan,

plan, and began the execution, of that very dome with that very lantern over the cathedral of Ely, which, from the lightness yet strength of the arches supporting them; from the number yet luminousness of the windows above, and from the visionary or fairy sort of light darted down by the lantern above all, constitute a structure pre-eminently elegant, pre-eminently striking to the eye, even in the shadowy exhibition of it by the pencil, the graver, and the rolling-press*!

Thus did the lamp of learning continue to burn with considerable brightness, in those very cells of the monastery which have been falsely believed to be sepulchral only. It seems, indeed, to our sight at present, to have burned but faintly; because the sun of literature it now throwing its beams around us, and dazzling our eyes with its radiance. And the library of our conventual church at St. German's, I suppose, was in the only remaining part of the priory, the projecting point of the western wing; a part now occupied, in a kind of hereditary right, by the library of my lord.

As an appendage to the library in a monastery, was the SCRIPTORIUM, or WRITING-ROOM; that, in which copies of books were formed. Thus, as M. Paris informs us, under the abbacy of Paul, from 1077 to 1093, "a certain nobleman, stout in war, and a Norman by birth, in the time "and by the persuasion of this abbot Paul, conferred upon that church "of St. Alban's two parts of the tithes of his demesne in the manor "of Hatfield—, and assigned them (at the suggestion of abbot Paul, a "lover of books) for the formation of volumes necessary to the church; "for that warrior was a literary man, a diligent *hearer*," as not able to be himself a *reader*, "and lover, too, of books. To this *office* were "also annexed additionally [by him] some tithes in Redburn; and he "appointed a daily provision of meat to be allowed the writers,—lest "the writers should be hindered in their work. And the abbot caused "some noble volumes necessary for the church, to be *there*—, in the very "*scriptorium*, which he built himself—, written by writers selected

Writing Room.

* Bentham, 156, 157, plate 41.

"and fetched from far†." This passage shews us very evident that *office* of an abbey, from which our lawyers have derived the name of their *scriptorium*, and in which the books wanted were multiplied by the only printing-press of the times, the pen. But, as the passage has been strangely misunderstood by a modern writer, let me subjoin his translation to mine, in order to correct the one, and to vindicate the other. "A *very* stout *soldier* who lived at Hatfield," says the *English* historian of the abbey, "—one of the Norman *leaders*—, gave "two *tenths*," literally two *parts*, actually (I believe) two *thirds*, "of "the tithes of his demesne, assigning *it* [them] for the purpose of *pur-* "*chasing*," a point wholly interpolated by the translator, "and *pro-* "*viding* books for the monks: for this Robert was a man of letters, and "a diligent hearer and lover of *the Scriptures;*" a mistranslation completely ridiculous, and contrary to the whole context. "The tithes of "Redburn," rather, some tithes in Redburn, "were assigned for the "same purpose," rather, were *additionally* assigned for the same purpose. What, however, was the purpose? That, as appears before, of *purchasing* and *providing* books. "And the best writers and copyists "were sought for far and near, for"—*purchasing* and providing books, as the analogy of the argument, so interpolated, requires the sequel to run; but, as the mention of "writers and copyists" now shews the argument should have been before, and as, in fact, the sequel runs, in the words immediately following, for—"*transcribing* books; and their "diet so provided for them, that they might never be taken off or hin- "dered," the words, "taken off, or" being as spurious as they are super-

† Paris, 1003: "Contulit quidam nobilis, armis strenuus, natione Neuster, *huic* eccle- "siæ (tempore et persuasa hujus abbatis Pauli) duas partes decimarum de suo dominio in "villâ de Hatfield,—et assignavit (sic volente abbate Paulo, scripturarum amatore) ad volu- "mina ecclesiæ necessaria, facienda. Erat autem miles ille literatus, diligens auditor et "amator scripturarum. Ad quod officium, additæ sunt quædam decimæ in Redburnâ; et "constituit quædam diaria dari scriptoribus,—ne scriptores impedirentur—. Ibique fecit "abbas, ab electis et procul quæsitis scriptoribus scribi nobilia volumina ecclesiæ neces- "saria." The tithes thus assigned are called by Paris expressly, "decimarum *scriptorio* "collatarum;" and, "in ipso quod construxit *scriptorio*, libros [Paulus] scribi fecit."

fluous,

fluous, "in this employment‡." So very contradictory is one half of this passage made to the other, and so wildly inaccurate is the whole! Yet so invariably, so necessarily indeed, was a *scriptorium* a part of every monastery! By the rules of Evesham, the præcentor was obliged to find, from the tithes and lands allotted him, "*enamel* for all the "writers of the monastery, and *parchment* for *briefs*," another term borrowed by the lawyers from the monks, but originally signifying what? the *heads*, or *contents* of chapters? "and *colours* for *illuminating* "books, and necessaries for *binding* them§." The *scriptorium* then in our priory of St. German's, was in all probability a room closely adjoining to the library, as its relation to the library would naturally give a proximity to it, but now used in the growing attentions of the age to neatness of dress, as that modern apartment in the mansion of a "baron "bold," the dressing-room of my lord.

With such a *scriptorium* and such a library, however, the priory *may* never have produced a single author, as every priory cannot be expected to produce one. Yet ours has one little known to fame at present, though well known formerly. Fame, indeed, is merely a circle formed upon the surface of a lake, at its amplest extent, confined within narrow limits, diffusing itself slowly for a while, and soon lost in the very tenuity of its substance. Thus we know not, in general, the very *names* of the monks or priors of St. German's, yet are acquainted with one name in particular, that of a mere deacon in orders, but of a writer once in such celebrity, as to be rescued from the oblivion which has covered all the rest, and to be transmitted with reputation unto our own times. "HUCAR," cries Leland, the happy vindicator of his fame, "shone out "brightly, an honour of no slight quality to Cornwall, as far as relates "to that divine kind of knowledge, an acquaintance with theology; and "at a period particularly," that of the *Danish* ravages, "in which "through almost all Europe good letters were nearly annihilated, by the "barbarism prevailing on every side. But, that he might run the

Hucar.

‡ Newcome, 48.

§ Monasticon, i. 147: "Incaustum omnibus scriptoribus monasterii, et pergamenam "ad brevia, et colores ad illuminandum, et necessaria ad ligandum, libros."

"course of his studies with *more* success," he did—what? According to Mr. Newcome's theory, he must have retired to *any* place—*except* a monastery. Yet to a monastery he actually retired. "He repaired to "*the church of St. German* in *his own country*. There also, being or-"dained a deacon, he prudently gained the good opinion of all, partly "by his preaching, partly also by his writing. But he wrote *a hundred* "*and eight* homilies, and in his preface to the volume" containing them "writes thus: 'Such a book as this, which is a collection formed "by me Hucar, an inconsiderable man of slender talents, should have "such a preface as this.' And in the same place he speaks thus: 'But "yet these discourses, however collected by me who dwell a humble "deacon in the very distant region of Cornwall, let *him* accept who likes "them; and, if he will not applaud them, I beg he will not carp at "them'." Many then continued deacons for life, as most priests continue priests at present; and had their peculiar parts of the clerical office assigned them. Thus one of them attended the bishop for the execution of his office, was thus made archdeacon, or superintendant over the rest, and thus too usurped an authority even over those who were his superiors in orders, the priests or presbyters, with their archi-presbyters or rural deans at their head. The first archdeacon mentioned in our national records, is Wlfræd, a Saxon, who subscribes the resolutions of one synod in 798, of another in 803, professedly as archdeacon, and apparently as a dignitary, after the bishops; but more explicitly witnesses a royal charter of donation in 808, as archdeacon of Canterbury*. Even at an earlier period, about 650, occurs "Thomas†, his deacon," on the death of Felix the bishop of Dunwich, and succeeds him as bishop. "And that his reader might not be ignorant" of some points touched upon by his sermons, "he prefixed "to his work a few constitutions, taken indeed from the book "of Ecclesiastical Constitutions of Egbert, the archbishop of York "[about 750], who was formerly the preceptor of Flaccus Albinus "[or Alcuinus], a man peculiarly famous for his literature." Or, as

* Battely, 145, 146.

† Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 403: "Thomas diaconus suus."

Leland

Leland writes in another place concerning Egbert's Constitutions, "this "book, Hucar, a deacon of St. German's in Cornwall, carefully re- "duced into an abridgment."—"That original work of Hucar's had tra- "velled, I know not how, even to Canterbury; from whence it was "transported by a certain monk to Oxford, and lodged in the library "of Canterbury college," now Canterbury quadrangle in the college of Christchurch; "as the same fate has befallen other volumes, both many "and ancient, the whole furniture of this library being derived from St. "Saviour's at Canterbury," in consequence of the connexion naturally subsisting between the monastery and the college, *this* bearing the name and receiving the patronage of *that*‡. We thus find one author, at least, belonging to this society, the preacher to it, the publisher also of 108 sermons in one volume, celebrated therefore within the walls of the priory for his style of preaching, and equally celebrated without the walls for his strain of writing.

What however is now become of Hucar's work, of the St. German's library, of all the monastic libraries in general? They who accused the monks of Gothic ignorance, would be sure to correct in themselves

‡ De Script. Brit. 168: "Hucarius, Coriniæ non levis [honor], quantum ad theologiæ "cognitionem divinam quidem illam pertinet, famâ enituit; et eo potissimùm tempore," explained in p. 173 to mean the Danish devastations, "quo bonæ per universam fere Eu- "ropam literæ, barbarie undecunque prævalente, tantùm non interierant. Ut autem studio- "rum cursum feliciùs absolveret, Fanum Germano sacrum apud suos petiit; ubi et, Levita "factus, partim concionando, partim etiam scribendo, insignem apud cunctos gratiam sibi "comparavit. Scripsit autem homilias centum et octo, et in hujus libelli prologo sic scribit, "'Talis liber, a me Hucaro, exigui ingenii homuncnlo, in unum collectus, talem habeat "prologum,' et ibidem, 'Sed tamen hæc, utcunque a me collecta qui in ultimis Cornu- "galliæ partibus humilis Levita habito, cui placuerint accipiat; et si laudare noluerit, peto "ne carpat.' Et, ne lector ignarus sit, præfixit operi paucas constitutiones, decerptas quidem "ex libro Constitutionum Ecclesiasticarum Egberti, archiepiscopi Eboracensis, olim præcep- "toris Flacci Albini, viri literarum titulo vel clarissimi. Pervenerat, quo nescio casu, "Hucarii opus vel Durovernum usque Cantiorum; unde a monacho quôdam transla- "tum est ad Isidis Vadum, et bibliothecæ collegii Cantiani commendatum: id quod et aliis "exemplaribus, cùm multis tum antiquis, contigit; tota enim hujus bibliothecæ su- "pellex a Fano Servatoris Durovorni translata est." Ibid. 114: "Hunc librum Hucarus, "Fani Germani in Coriniâ Levita, studiosè in compendium redegit."

what they condemned in the others, to use industriously those libraries which the others had so grossly neglected, and thus to turn their very books as stormed batteries against them. So, in common sense, they should have acted; and so, for that very reason, does the world believe them to have acted. But the accusers of the monks as Goths were actually Goths themselves, Goths warring again with the literature of Rome, and Goths consigning the literary treasures of the age to a sweeping storm of destruction. To the present generation of the reformed, this seems utterly incredible; yet is dreadfully true. Henry VIII. that wilful wayward child of violence, stood like another Genseric or Alaric, tearing down the sun of literature from its sphere, and burying the whole country in darkness. We even see him so standing, in the striking portrait of him drawn by a cotemporary, a spectator, and a friend. "Never had we bene offended," cries even Bale, that strenuous enemy to the monks, "for the loss of our libraryes, beyng *so many in nombre*, "and *in so desolate places* for the more parte; *yf* the *chiefe monuments* "and *most notable workes* of our *most excellent wryters*, had bene re- "served. *If* there had bene in every shyre in Englande, but *one* "*solempne librarye*, to the preservacyon of those noble workes, and "preferrement of good lernynge in oure posteritye; *it had bene sumwhat.* "But *to destroye all* without consideracyon, is and wyll be unto Eng- "lande for ever *a most horryble infamy*, amonge the grave senyours of "other nacyons. A great nombre of *them* whych purchased those su- "perstycyouse *mansyons*, reserved of those *library bokes*, some to *serve* "*theyr jakes*, some to *scoure their candlestycks*, and some to *rubbe their* "*bootes*. Some they sold to the *grossers* and *sopesellers*, and some "they *sent over see* to the *bokebynders*, not in small nombre, but at "tymes *whole shyppes full*, to the *wonderynge* of *foren nacyons*. Yea, "the *universytees* of this realme are not *all* clere in this *detestable* fact. "But cursed is that bellye, whyche seketh to be fedde with suche un- "godly gaynes, and *so depelye shameth his natural countrey*. I know a "merchant-man, whych shall at thys tyme be namelesse, that *bought* "*the contentes* of *two noble lybraryes* for *forty shillings pryce;* a shame "it is, to be spoken. *Thys stuffe* hath he *occupyed* in *the stede of graye* "*paper*, by the space of *more than these ten years;* and yet he had

"*store ynough* for *as many years to come.* A prodigyouse example is "this, and *to be abhorred of all men which love their nation as they* "*should do**." The last is very similar to that ever-memorable deed of destruction, by which the library of Alexandria was distributed as waste paper during a course of six months, to light the fires of wood under the four thousand baths there. And the madness of Mahometans overtopping all the rage of Goths, so ranking Omar higher in infamy than either Alaric or Genseric, was now apparent upon earth again, in the person of our half-protestant, half-popish, but wholly savage king Henry.

I have thus laid open to the mind's eye, what is so little known to us Protestants at present, the interiors of a priory. We are accustomed only to view the environing walls with awe, and to deplore the fanaticism that reduced the buildings into mere walls. But the habits and modes of life, which a monk formerly practised within, are as little known to the generality, as the modes and habits of the man in the moon. I have therefore dwelt the more circumstantially, upon the disposition of this priory within. Such a plan for the history of an abbey I formerly recommended to the late Mr. West, who published, in 1774, "The Antiquities of Furness, or an Account of the royal Abbey "of St. Mary" there. He, as a clergyman of the Romish church, and a scholar bred in a monastery abroad, might have expatiated with a freer plenitude of ideas upon the point, than we clergymen of the church of England can. I believe him too to have possessed so much probity of spirit, and to have acquired such a compass of knowledge, as would have directed and heightened his personal familiarity with monastic

* Steevens's Preface to *his own* Monasticon, p. x. See also Bale's whole work, a preface, in Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood, i. iii. &c. In another work of Bale's is this observation additional: "The tyme hath bene," he cries, "when it [London] hath had a great "nombre of *the noblest libraries in all Christendome*; their destruccyon at this daye, of "men godly mynded is much to be lamented.—Among the *stacyoners* and *bokelynders*, I "found *many notable antiquitees*; of whom I wrote out the tytles, tymes, and begyn-"nynges—. I have bene also at Norwyche, oure *seconde* cytie of name; and there *all* the "library monumentes *are turned to the use of their grossers, candelmakers, sopesellers, and* "*other worldly occupyers.*"

manners.

manners. I even mentioned the suggestion soon afterwards to one, whom I am proud to have frequently visited on a fair footing of equality, to have then done what I believe only one man besides to have done, the late Mr. Beauclerc, opposed him freely whenever I differed from him in opinion, yet to have enjoyed no small portion of his personal respectfulness, the late Dr. Johnson; and he gave it his full approbation,

> Shook his ambrosial curls, and gave the nod,
> The stamp of fate, and sanction of the god:

But I was too late in my recommendation to Mr. West; as he was then in London, attending the press for publication. Nor has any attempt been made since to carry the plan into execution, except by Mr. Newcome, the historian of St. Alban's abbey; who, possessing a vein of good sense and a spirit of observation, has delineated the manners of a monastery, with the pencil of a monk, though with the colouring of a Protestant; yet reposing in confidence on the accuracy of his touches, and indolently careless about the justness of his colours, has given us a representation on the whole, however we may allow praise to parts, violating propriety by fantasticalness, destroying uniformity by contradictoriness, and distorting truth by falsehood.

SECTION IV.

Duration of the See of S. Germans, and number of its Bishops.

HAVING now traced the alterations made in the priory and the church, subsequent to the original constructions; I have one point more to notice at the end of all, concerning the episcopate once attached to both.

"As to the time that this place enjoyed this honour," observes our old associate and useful intelligencer Mr. Willis, in his parting words, "I "can only judge it to have been about 113 [115] years, viz. from the year "936 to 1049 [1050]; and from Leland may guess, that eleven bishops "sat

"sat here *." Mr. Willis thus goes on like another Vulcan, in his kind and amiable ministeries to the gods of literature; limping to the very close †. He *forgets* what he has remarked himself just before, and thus *confounds* what Leland has asserted.

He himself has told us only nine or ten lines before, "that the first "bishop—was Athelstan," who was nominated (according to Mr. Willis himself) in 905 ‡, and "who was succeeded by Conan," in 936 §. We thus lengthen Mr. Willis's *own* period, with the addition of many years. But as the see must certainly have been erected, when the kingdom was set up; when Christianity retired with her priests and bishops, before the victorious heathens of Germany; when Cornwall became independent of Devonshire, in matters spiritual as well as secular; the prelacy will mount up with the royalty, as I have carried it, to the very beginning of the seventh century. Thus will more than THREE CENTURIES be annexed to its duration; and the whole period of its continuance be almost FOUR AGES AND A HALF. We cannot indeed pretend to measure such a chronology as this, by the standard of a few years; any more than we can estimate the distance of the fixed stars, by a yard or a pole. We must take a half or a whole diameter of the earth, for *this* work; and centuries half or whole for *that*.

Duration of the see, about 450 years.

Nor has Leland said any thing so contrary to my reasoning, as what Mr. Willis imagines he has; and so grossly false in itself, as that only eleven bishops sat here. He says merely, in the passage which is so familiar to our eyes at present, that "beside the hye altare of the "same priory [church], on the ryght hand, ys a tumbe yn the walle—,

* Willis, 142.

† Iliad, i. 599, 600:

Ασβεστος δ' αρα τωιγε γελως μακαρεσσι θεοισιν,
Ως ιδον Ηφαιστον δια δωμαθ' ποτνιονθα.

Vulcan with awkward grace his office plies,
And unextinguish'd laughter shakes the skies.—POPE.

‡ Willis, 142. § Ibid. 142.

"and

" and over the tumbe a xi bisshops paynted,—as token of so many bisshops " biried theere, or that ther had beene so many bisshoppes of Cornwalle, " that had theyr secte [seate] theer ‖." Mr. Willis takes *one* member of the alternative, when Leland presents *both*; and so makes him lean decisively to *one* of the sides, when he really inclines to *neither*. He thus gives a false turn to Leland's account. Mr. Willis has also taken the *latter* member of the alternative, when in reason and propriety he ought to have taken the *former*. But, what is infinitely more absurd than either, he here continues the egregious blunder, which we have seen him beginning before *, in a strange wildness of misapprehension, he having fancied, and still fancying, this tomb in the chancel to be that in the south aile, so placing " beside the hye altare" what is not in the eastern end of the aile at all, what is near the very middle of the aile, what is even to the west of the middle. By this astonishing act of oscitancy, he lost a long succession of bishops, all prior to the construction of the chancel, all coæval with the cathedral preceding it.

Number of Bishops, upwards of 40.

How many these were, it is impossible to ascertain. Tradition, which once told me of *three*, and another time of *four*, upon closer examination could not specify any number. The *four* and the *three*, I then found, were only the creatures of an imagination, that was *conceiving* from the general tradition, and deriving marks of division upon its *conception* from the view of the plates before it †. *Three* plates were very apparent in *themselves* formerly, and are in their *places* at present. But a *fourth* is also apparent, on a strict survey. The number of bishops, however, must have been much, very much greater than either, in the three centuries preceding the erection of the chancel. The number of *twelve* (for twelve, not eleven, I have noted before ‡ to be the real number) in little more than a century subsequent, shews the

‖ Leland's Itin. vii. 122; my vi. 4, and ii. 4.

* In iii. 2.

† I allude to that very curious principle in physics, disclosed in Genesis, xxx. 39: " The " flocks conceived before the rods," which were peeled round in streaks, were therefore spotted and speckled in appearance, " and brought forth cattle ring-streaked, speckled, and " spotted."

‡ See vi. 4.

truth

truth of the assertion, and indicates the amount of all. More than *thirty* bishops sat in the throne of St. German's, *before* the reign of Athelstan; as exactly twelve sat *after* it. Those are all, except St. Rumon, I believe, buried near the cenotaph in their old cathedral; the earlier close to it, I suppose, the later receding more and more from it; till the whole range of the original church, perhaps, has now its soil made up nearly of mould, that once was episcopal. And the lawn, which occupies the whole extent of the ancient chancel at present, lies lightly with its turf over remains much less numerous in themselves, but equally episcopal in their nature.

CONCLUSION.

In this manner was a prelacy and a royalty established formerly among the Cornish; Cornwall being modelled at once into a kingdom and a bishopric. In this manner too, was the metropolis of the latter settled at St. German's, and the capital of the former fixed at Leskard. Both went on in the same course of continuance, till the power of the Saxons, like an Alpine snowball, growing with its own progress, and swelling from its own accumulations, came rushing upon them both with an overwhelming sweep of violence. Then the secular monarchy was buried for ever, but the ecclesiastical still reared its head above the waste. The Cornish episcopate remained, under the sway of the Saxons; and even received a magnificent addition to its cathedral, from the Christianity imbibed by the Saxons on their settlement among Christians. Nor did the Normans come to St. German's, with the Saxon heathenism renewed upon these seeming Saxons of Denmark. They came with the Christianity of the Saxons, communicated equally to the Normans by the Christians of France; and with the architecture of France, improved by its nearer neighbourhood to Italy. They came to lend more elegance and more grandeur to the British, to the Saxon church of the Cornish see. Even when this see migrated to Exeter, it merely reverted back to its original abode; and the current, after many wanderings to the right or left, only rejoined the ocean from which it had sprung before.

In tracing this current, I have been enabled to lay before my reader many a fine object upon the banks, important in itself and in its consequences, important to Cornwall in particular, important to the island in general. I have displayed that period of the Cornish history, in the

full light of historical radiance; which has hitherto been buried in the clouds and mists of ignorance, yet concerns the very saints, male or female, that almost every parish acknowledges in its name, that almost every town honours in its wake, and that form a necessary link in the chain of Cornish history. But I have not confined myself, like a limitary intelligencer, to this peculiar orb. I have ranged over the island, held up the origin of Gothic and of modern architecture within it, the origin of chess, the origin of free-masons, the origin of armorial bearings; pointed out the period at which all the grander parts of our large churches, the chancel, the nave, or the aile, the bell-tower, the lantern, the spire, or the chapel, were added to them, or at which those peculiar decorations of our cathedrals, the mitre, the crosier, or the throne, appeared within them; and exhibiting several churches in Britain, as built by the very Romans themselves, yet existent still in part or in whole among us. I have shewn the abbey-church of St. Alban's, in direct contradiction to *its own* historian, to be one of the number. In doing all this, I flatter myself I have been usefully employed, have added something to the stock of antiquarian knowledge, have enlarged somewhat the bounds of historical certainty, and have broke open some new fountains of intelligence, historical or antiquarian, for the benefit of the public.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ON THE ORIGIN OF CHESS.

FROM THE ENGLISH REVIEW OF JANUARY AND FEBRUARY 1792.

Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Volume IX.

4. An Historical Disquisition on the Game of Chess—; by the Hon. Daines Barrington.

'MR. BARRINGTON, who, in the eighth volume of these antiquarian papers, laid himself out to explain the origin of card-playing in England, here attempts to explain equally the origin of chess-playing in the world at large. The point is curious, much learning is collected to bear upon it, yet the conviction does not keep pace with the conclusion. This tardiness of faith in us may be in some measure imputed to our want of knowledge in the game itself. But it must also be imputed, we think, to the defective evidences and the feeble reasonings of the author.

Mr Barrington.

"It seems to be generally agreed," says Mr. Barrington, "that we "derive chess from Asia, and most writers have supposed from Persia" [a note adds, "from the names of some of the pieces."]; "but I cannot "give up the claim of the Chinese as inventors, though Hyde inclines "against it" in his History of eastern Games, "and chiefly because "they," the Chinese, "have some additional pieces, which differ from "ours both in their form and powers. This single circumstance, how-"ever, by no means appears conclusive to me; because in all countries,

Chinese claim.

"where

" where any game hath been of long continuance, the players will make " innovations, though it remains the same in substance. Du Halde, how- " ever, cites a Chinese treatise; by which it appears, that it is the favou- " rite game of that country, and as such is sometimes depicted upon Chi- " nese paper. In Thibet also chess is much in vogue, as it is throughout " Bengal and Indostan, with a native of which I have myself played, nor " do the moves or rules differ materially from our own. It is therefore " highly probable, that Thibet and Indostan received chess from the long- " civilized empire of China, rather than from Persia, which it might reach " in its progress westward through Indostan." That Indostan, Bengal, Thibet, China, and Persia, ' all have the game of chess among them, is ' very apparent from these evidences. But which is the mother-country ' of the game, does *not* appear. The long civility of China, even if the ' fact be certain, is no argument in favour of that country. Incivility, ' rudeness, and barbarism, delight in games of chance equally with ' modern refinement itself. An English peasant loves cards as much as ' *Milord Anglois*. And, in the highest luxury of Rome, Tacitus noticed ' with astonishment the infatuated propensity of those Indian-like tribes ' the Germans, for gaming with dice. " Aleam," he says, " *quod mirere*, " sobrii *inter seria* exercent, tantâ lucrandi perdendive *temeritate*, ut *cùm* " *omnia defecerunt*, extremo ac novissimo jactu de *libertate* et de *corpore* " contendant *." Arthur's, in all its exorbitance of gaming, never wit- ' nessed such a stake as his; though it was in Tacitus's time very common ' in Germany, and even characteristic of the nation. Mr. Barrington, in- ' deed, only states it as " highly probable," that chess came from China. ' But the probability is nothing, when we take away the argument from ' civility. Indeed the probability is all on the other side, on the very side ' against which Mr. Barrington is contending. Persia may still claim the ' honour, if an honour it be, of giving the game of chess to the world; ' notwithstanding all, that Mr. Barrington has advanced hitherto. When ' Persia, China, Thibet, Bengal, and Indostan, have equally the game; ' when, in the last countries, " the moves or rules" do *not* " differ *mate-* " *rially* from our own;" when the Chinese " have some additional pieces,

* De Mor. Ger. xxiv.

" which"

"which" *do* "differ from ours both in their form and powers;" and 'when "the names of some of the pieces" in our own chess are actu-'ally Persian at this day: the probability is clearly in favour of Thibet, 'Bengal, and Indostan, preferably to China, and the balance turns de-'cidedly in preference of Persia to all.

'Mr. Barrington having *thus* examined the Chinese claim to the in-'vention, goes on to consider the Grecian. The first passage adduced 'for it, he remarks, "is a line in the first book of the Odyssey, where it "is said that Penelope's suitors thus amused themselves before the gates "of Ulysses's palace:

Grecian Claim.

Πεσσοισι προπαροιθε θυραων θυμον ἑτερπον *.

"As it took place, however, in the open air, it is much more likely that "it resembled a very common game at every school, called *hop-scot*, than "the sedentary amusement of chess. Unfortunately for the former sup-"position, Athenæus in his first book gives us from a native of Ithaca "(whose name was Cteson), a very particular account of the method of "playing the game of πεττεια by Penelope's suitors, which differs most "materially from chess, as the pieces were in number 108 instead of 32. "The principal piece moreover (named *Penelope)* was placed in the va-"cant space between the two sets, whilst each player endeavoured to "*strike* Penelope twice; in which if he succeeded, he was supposed to "have better pretensions than the other suitors." This passage, we are

* The reviewer would have remarked if he had known, that there is a passage in the Iliad, which shews the use of chess at a much earlier period; when Patroclus was yet a boy, and killed another boy in a passion at chess:

Ημαλι τῳ, οτε παιδα κατεκτανον Αμφιδαμαντος,
Νηπιος, ουκ εθελων, αμφ' ΑΣΤΡΑΓΑΛΟΙΣΙ χολωθεις. xxxiii. 87, 88.

Mr. Pope has strangely omitted the whole passage in his translation, though extended into no less than six lines in the original, and though so important in the history of Patroclus's connexion with Achilles. The father of Achilles *then* took Patroclus into his own family, bred him up, and constituted him an attendant upon his son.

Ενθα με δεξαμενος εν δωμασιν ιπποτα Πηλευς,
Ετρεφε τ' ενδυκεως, και ςον θεραποντ' ονομηνεν. 89, 90.

'sorry

'sorry to say so, is peculiarly confused and erroneous. That the game, 'whatever it was, was "played in the open air," is not true. It was 'played in the very portico, within which the suitors were equally feast-'ing.

> There, in the *portal* plac'd, the heav'n-born maid
> Enormous riot and misrule survey'd.
> On hides of bees, *before the palace-gate,*
> (Sad spoils of luxury) the suitors sat.
> With rival art, and ardour in their mien,
> At chess they vie, to captivate the queen;
> Divining of their loves.

'Even if the game had been "in the open air," Mr. Barrington surely is 'under a strange influence of injudiciousness, in setting the suitors of Pe-'nelope to play at "hop-scot" for her. Burlesque itself could not go be-'yond this. But Mr. Barrington himself, without seeming to know what 'he is doing, instantly sweeps away this score of "hop-scot" with his 'hand, by giving us an authentic account of what the game was. "A native of Ithaca" lends him the account. From this the game is ap-'parently *not* "hop-scot," but sedentary like chess, and probably, as Mr. 'Pope has stated it, chess itself. "Unfortunately for the *former* suppo-"sition," says Mr. Barrington concerning the game being chess, when it 'is *decidedly* unfortunate for the *latter*, concerning the play being hop-'scot; "Athenæus in his first book gives us," &c. By this account, as 'Mr. Barrington adds, "the game of πεττεια by Penelope's suitors,— "differs most materially from chess, as *the pieces were in number* 108 in-"stead of 32." Yet we find from a passage and a note before, that "the board at arch-chess," which he thinks is an Italian *addition* to the 'original chess, "had 100 *squares* instead of 64*;" and, in opposition 'to what is alleged in favour of the descent of chess from the Chinese, 'that "they have some *additional pieces*, which differ from ours both in "their form and powers." The number of the pieces therefore, by Mr. 'Barrington's own confession before, can be no argument against the 'identity of the game. Mr. Barrington indeed argues previously himself, 'that "in all countries, where any game hath been of long continuance,

* 'P. 17.'

"the

" the players will make innovations, though it remains the same in sub-
" stance." And those variations in the number of pieces may be (ac-
' cording to Mr. Barrington himself) as much innovations of this kind in
' the chess of Ithaca, as they avowedly are in the arch-chess of Italy;
' and as much the result of a long continuance there. But Mr. Barring-
' ton next objects, that the game was substantially different from chess.
" The principal piece (named Penelope)," he says, " was placed in the
" vacant space between the two sets, whilst each player endeavoured to
" *strike* Penelope twice." But let us attend to the more circumstantial
' account, which Mr. Pope (or rather his hired translator) has given us
' from Eustathius on the place †. " The number of the suitors being
" one hundred and eight, they equally divided their men or balls ‡; that
" is to say, fifty-four on each side: these were placed on the *board* oppo-
" site to each other. Between the two sides was a vacant space, in the
" midst of which was the main mark, or *queen*, the point which all were
" to aim at. They took their turns by lot; *he who took or displaced that*
" *mark*, got his own in its place; and if, by a second man, he again *took*
" it, without touching any of the others, he won the game." We know
' nothing of chess, and therefore may be mistaken in what we are going
' to say. But this appears to us very similar to what Mr. Barrington
' himself tells us, that " the putting the enemy's king," at Ithaca called
' a *queen*, by the suitors named *Penelope*, and only one to the two sets of
' combatants, " in such a situation that he cannot be extricated" with-
' out being taken, " is the great object of each player §." There is *cer-*
' *tainly* such a substantial similarity between chess and that, as shews it
' demonstrably not to be hop-scot, and evinces it probably to be chess.
' If it is not chess, what other game can it possibly be? If chess was
' actually meant by Athenæus, with the variations in playing the game

† And, as this reviewer should in justice to his argument have added from Mr. Pope's Eustathius, " Athenæus relates it from Apian the Grammarian, who had it from Cteson, a " native of Ithaca, that the sport was in this manner."

‡ Balls! The pieces were nearly globular, and were therefore called " pilæ" by the Romans. See Ovid in a long note hereafter.

§ This reviewer should have referred to p. 18.

'that seem to have taken place at Ithaca, could he in his short descrip-
'tion have pointed it out more significantly?

'But "though chess is supposed to have been known thus early in "Ithaca, yet the invention of this ingenious game hath been commonly "attributed to Palamedes *. The chief authority, however, for his being "the inventor of chess, is the following line from Sophocles:

Εφευρε [sc. Palamedes] πεσσοοις, κυβοις τε, τερπνον αγιας αγος.

'A note adds: "By this line the invention of dice is also attributed to "Palamedes; which ingenious discovery, it is much wished for the "benefit of society, that he had reserved to himself." That Palamedes at 'Troy was the inventor of the game of πεσσοι, whether it be chess or 'not, is historically *impossible to be true.* We see the game actually played 'at Ithaca, *when* Ulysses and his soldiers were not yet returned from 'Troy. Nor does the passage in Sophocles affirm any such thing: it 'only alleges, that "he *found amusement,* as the cure of idleness, in "πεσσοι and in dice;" just as the suitors are said before to have "amused themselves" in the same manner, πεσσοισι θυμον ετερπον. And dice 'were so little the invention of Palamedes, that they must have been 'known for ages before the complicated game of the πεσσοι was in-'vented; being the simplest, and therefore the oldest, of all those instru-'ments which the selfishness of man has fabricated, for giving employ-'ment to such as can find none for themselves, and so enabling them to 'escape from "the rack of a too easy chair." We have already 'seen the dice rattled by the earliest Germans, with more than the hardy 'desperation of a knight of industry at the German Spa now.

Roman Claim.

'Mr. Barrington proceeds to the Roman claim of inventing chess. He 'accordingly produces two passages, one from Ovid, which "no person," 'he affirms, "who is acquainted with the moves even at chess, can read "—with attention, and conceive that it is alluded to;" and another from

* The reviewer should have here cited this passage in Mr. Pope: "It is said, this game "was invented by Palamedes, during the siege of Troy."

'a poem

'a poem sometimes ascribed to Lucan, which "must be allowed," he 'owns, "to contain stronger allusions to what may be deemed chess, "than any of the other passages which have been quoted," but which, he 'still thinks, does not mean it. We can only say, that this *may be so*. 'But we are not convinced that it *is* †.

"The first mention which I have happened to meet with of a game "that bears any affinity to *scacchia* or chess is, that in Du Fresne's "'Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Græcitatis' under the article Ζάρικιον; "where he cites a passage alluding to it from Anna Commena's 12th "book of her Alexias, as well as others from the Byzantine historians. "It is there stated, that the Persians call it σαν[ρά]ζ, whilst the Constanti- "nopolitan name is σκακιον.—Sir Elijah Impey informs me, that the "board is still called *satringe* in Bengal. It was rather a common game "at Constantinople in the twelfth century, when Anna Comnena flou- "rished: and this, I conceive, will account for its introduction into "Europe." It is peculiarly unfortunate for an author to trip up his own 'heels in this wrestling of controversy. Mr. Barrington is endeavouring, 'we know, to disprove the Persian origin of chess in favour of a 'Chinese one: yet we have seen him acknowledging before, that, even 'in our own chess, "the names of some of the pieces" are Persian. And 'now we find, that the very name at *Bengal* for the board itself, is the 'very same that was used in Persia many centuries ago. So far, there- 'fore, Persia appears the common centre of radiation (if we may use so 'sublime an allusion for so petty an object), to Bengal at one extremity of 'the globe, and to Britain at another, for the science of chess-playing. 'Nor will the commonness of the game at Constantinople in the *twelfth* 'century, account for its introduction into Europe. It was known and 'familiar in *western* Europe, during the *eleventh*. This appears from a 'very picturesque passage in our own Malmesbury's account of the cru- 'sades. "Anno ab Incarnatione 1095," he tells us, "—hanç—civitatem

Persian Origin.

† From what follows in the reviewer's argument, coupled with these concessions so singularly ingenious in Mr. Barrington, the reviewer might have fairly presumed, I think, that the lines allude actually to chess.

" [Antioch] Franci ab Octobri usque ad *Junium* [in 1096] circumsedêre.—" Aoxianus—civitatis ammiratus," emir of the city, " —Sansadolem " filium ad Soldanum imperatorem *Persidis* misit—: Soldanus apud " *Persas*,—omnium Sarracenorum rector." The Christians however ' took the town before the Persian succours arrived. These came just ' afterwards, and blocked up the Christians in the town. " Venerant illi " a Sansadole invitati, duce Corbaguath satrapâ orientali, qui ab impera-" tore *Persidis* acceperat trecenta millia cum viginti septem ammiratis." ' The Christians became distressed. " Quapropter, triduano priùs cum " letaniis exacto jejunio, legatus Petrus Heremita mittitur ad *Turcos*." ' He went, and made his proposals. " Non erat Corbaguath ejus facilita-" tis, ut legatum dignaretur responso; sed SCHACCIS ludens, et dentibus " infrendens, inanem dimisit—. Ille—, concitè rediens, exercitum de in-" solentiâ *Turci* certiorem reddidit ‡." In this very striking delineation, ' we see the Turkish general of *Persia*, in the midst of war, and at the ' very reception of a legate from the enemy, playing at the Persian game ' of chess; we behold Peter the *Hermit* so well acquainted with the ' game, as to report it under its proper appellation to his European ' brethren; and we even find an historian in Britain, within a very few ' years afterwards §, reciting the incident, and repeating the appellation, ' as quite familiar to him and to his countrymen. All intimates the Per-' sian origin of the game, and all indicates its early introduction into ' Britain itself.

" In the first crusades, before the destruction of the Eastern empire, the " adventurers often made a stay at Constantinople (the emperors of which " were generally friendly to the Christian cause); and thus probably be-" came acquainted with this bewitching game, which they introduced on " their return to their respective countries." But we have already shewn, ' that Europe in general, and Britain in particular, were well acquainted ' with the game *before* the return from the *very first* crusade.

" I cannot but dissent from Hyde's most learned treatise on this game, " when he seems to suppose it known in England about the time of the

‡ ' Malmesbury, fol. 73 and 78.' § ' Malmesbury, fol. 98.'

" Conquest, from the court of exchequer having been then first esta-
" blished. Now true it is, that the barons of the exchequer sit with a
" table before them, which is covered with a chequered cloth; but the
" use of this cloth is, for settling the accounts to be passed before this
" court.—It is possible that the chequer being so common a sign for a
" public-house, may have formerly been for the same reason of changing
" the reckoning; and it is remarkable that the same sign was used at
" ancient Pompeii, as appears by the engravings which are inserted in
" the fourth volume of the Archæologia." We have already seen the
' *scacchi* a game, played by the general of the Persians, and familiar to
' the most westerly Europeans, in 1096; just thirty years only after the
' Conquest. Hyde therefore seems to have a strong probability in his
' favour, when " he seems to suppose it known in England about the
" time of the Conquest." But Mr. Barrington will not allow his suppo-
' sition; because it is founded only on the establishment of the court of
' *exchequer* then. This, he *insinuates*, for he does not *argue*, derives its
' appellation only from the *chequered* cloth, with which the table of the
' court is covered, and by the *chequers* of which the officers of the court
' used to compute sums. Mr. Barrington, however, is as erroneous as
' he is *popular* in this insinuation. The court carries *the very name* of the
' game, the name *appropriate* to it at Constantinople and in Malmesbury
' before; that of *scacchus*. " Ab ipsâ regni conquisitione," says Ger-
' vase of Tilbury*, who lived within a hundred years after the Conquest,
' and wrote a set treatise on the exchequer, " per regem Gulielmum
" facta hæc curia cœpisse dicitur, sumptâ tamen ejus ratione a *scacchario*
" transmarino." The exchequer of Tilbury therefore unites with the
' chess of Malmesbury, to shew the familiarity of the name and game
' among our own ancestors, as early at least as the Conquest. But a
' court of exchequer appears to have been previously erected, under the
' same appellation of *scaccharium*, upon the continent. The existence

* This author, with whom I so cordially unite in sentiment, and whom indeed, as I must say in the language of Ben Jonson concerning Shakespeare, " I honour as much as " any man on this side idolatry," has here committed a mistake, which is corrected in the body of my work, iii. 3.

' and

'and the appellation of our own, were only borrowed "a scacchario "*transmarino*." This therefore coincides with Malmesbury again, to 'shew how Peter and the other crusaders came to know so very readily 'the game, which the Persian general was playing.

'Yet how came the continental and island exchequers to take the ap- 'pellation of *scaccharium*? Gervase himself shall tell us, and so concur 'in part with, and in part correct, Mr. Barrington and the mass of 'writers. "*Scaccharium*," he says, "est tabula quadrangula, quæ lon- "gitudine quasi decem pedum, et quinque latitudine, ad modum mensæ "circumsedentibus apposita, undique habet limbum latitudinis quasi "quatuor digitorum, supponitur *scaccharío* annus in termino Paschæ "emptus, non quilibet, sed niger virgis distinctus, distantibus a se vir- "gis vel pedis vel palmæ extentæ spatio *." The court, then, took its 'name from the cloth †. Yet the question still recurs, and is only varied 'in the object. Whence, we must *now* ask, did the cloth itself derive its 'name? *Evidently from its similitude to a chess-board.* The appella- 'tion of the game, *scacchus*, had directly communicated itself in *scaccha- 'rium* to the board, and indirectly or allusively to any thing resembling 'it in appearance. Cloths, resembling it in having a set of diversified 'squares upon them, were distinguished by its name, and were said to be 'scaccharia or *chequered*. Just so, as Mr. Barrington himself informs 'us, in p. 24 preceding, the chess-board being called *satringe* in Bengal, 'there this "term also signifies a *carpet*, from *its being generally* "*chequered as the chess-board is*." How strongly therefore does this

* 'Camdeni Britannia, p. 129, edit. 1607.' But Camden's copy was very erroneous. The very citation in Camden shews it to be so. And "Scaccarium tabula est quadrangula," says Madox's copy, ii. 353, "quæ longitudinis quasi decem pedum, latitudinis quinque, ad "modum mensæ circumsedentibus apposita, undique habet limbum *altitudinis* quatuor digi- "torum, *ne quid appositum excidat. Super*-ponitur autem scaccario *superiori pannus* in "termino Paschæ emptus, non quilibet, sed," &c.

† The reviewer's reasoning here seems at first sight, to be different from what it should be; and *exchequer* seems to be the name, not of the cloth, but of the table itself. "Scacca- "rium est tabula." Yet, on deeper consideration, I see he is right. The table had no chequers upon it, but the cloth had, *being the very first cloth* of *check* that *is noticed in our history*.

'prove

'prove the equal popularity of the game among the nations of Europe, 'as among the tribes of Bengal; when it could carry such an extensive 'influence with it, upon the language of both! Ages must have been re- 'quisite, to make such an impression upon their fancies, and to throw 'such a colouring over their minds, as to produce this grand effect.'

'But this is not all. The reason why such a *scaccharium* or *chequered-* 'cloth was preferred to all others, for the continental and insular courts of 'exchequer, was the use to which it had been now applied, for reckon- 'ing up by its squares the large sums to be received into those ex- 'chequers: and, as this throws the origin of chequered cloths still far- 'ther back, so was it that use of the cloth which lent the appellation of 'it to the court. We thus run up ages beyond the Conquest, for the in- 'troduction of chess among our continental neighbours and ourselves.'

'We see, indeed, their language and our own, stained very deeply with 'the hue and die of this game. The *scacchia* and *scaccharium*, with 'which chess and its board came among us at first, have formed the 'denomination of one of our highest courts, in Latin *scaccharium*, in 'Norman French *es-chequir*, in English *exchequer*, and provincially 'chequer; have created a name for a most useful species of cloth manu- 'factured by us, *chequer* or *check*; have diffused their own appellation 'of *chequer*, over every object that is diversified in squares; and have 'even given the signs and the titles of *chequer*, to our inns*. Mr. Bar- rington

* Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 143, from the obituary of Canterbury, shews, that prior Chillenden about A. D. 1400, "in civitate Cantuariæ unum hospitium famosum, vocatum "*Le Cheker*,—nobiliter ædificavit." It was in Mercery Lane. "Great part of this lane," says Gostling, 57, "seems formerly to have been built for large inns; great part of the "*Chequer*, where *Chaucer and his fellow-pilgrims are said to have lodged*, takes up almost "half the west side of it." This is called by Leland, in Itin. viii. 6, "the *Escheker*, the faire "yene yn the High Streate of Cantorbyri." Its front was narrow to the High Street, as it even appears in Gostling's own map, and its length extended down Mercery Lane. We even observe, that the *bursary* of our cathedrals, as the room is denominated in our colleges at Oxford, within which the accounts of receipts and disbursements are made up; was, and perhaps is, denominated an *exchequer* occasionally. So "Thomas Bekington made the west "ende of the cloyster" at Wells, "with the volte,—and an *escheker* over it, having 25 wyn- "dowes

'rington indeed hath surmised, that these titles and these signs may 'have been derived from the use of a chequer-cloth within, for changing 'the reckoning to the customers. But [to suppose] that the mode of 'computing the large receipts of a royal treasury could ever have been 'adopted for the petty expenditure of an inn, is too much in that high 'tone of burlesque with which we have charged another surmise of his 'before. The supposition looks too like the hardy energy of a mind, 'which will strain and strain to wrest any thing out of its course, in 'order to serve an hypothesis. The name of Chequer to some of our 'capital inns, is explained by the appearance of a chequer upon the walls 'of many of our alehouses at present. Nor could the sign have ever 'been put without, but to indicate what was within, *a chess-board 'ready for any that chose to play;* just as a bunch of grapes now proclaims, 'that wine may be had there. Nor is the sign of the chequer merely 'English; it is Roman, and of the first antiquity in the *empire* of Rome. 'We have long observed this in the ruins of Pompeii, as delineated by 'the pencil of sir William Hamilton. But Mr. Barrington is the first 'who has publicly noticed it. The streets of Pompeii are laid out ex-'actly as the streets of London are and were a few years ago; paved 'with great rounding-stones, and laid with a raised foot-path on each 'side. On the left-hand of the principal street are two chequers still 'remaining, fresh and entire upon the wall, not far from each other; 'one consisting of five lines of squares, the other of eight, and each con-'taining four squares in a line, all interchangeably white and black*. 'And, as this fact evinces chequers to have been the signs of inns, even 'in the year 79 of our era, when Pompeii was covered with ashes from 'Vesuvius; so does it proclaim with a loud voice, that chess-boards were 'kept there in this year, and consequently carries the origin of chess in 'Europe to the first age of the empire†. "It

"dowes toward the area side." (Leland's Itin. iii. 122.) So likewise within the close at Lincoln, "the *eskeker*" and "the *eskeker* gate." (Itin. viii. 4, 5.) So, at Durham, one who became bishop in 1437, "*scaccarium* coram portis castri Dunelmensis—construxit, "in quo curia cancellariæ *skakuriæ*—tenetur." (Wharton, i. 777.)

* 'Archæologia, iv. 170, plate.'

† Nero evidently played at chess, "cùm inter initia imperii *eburneis quadrigis*," ivory chess-men

"It is possible, however," adds Mr. Barrington, "that chess might "be known in England, in the next century after the first crusade had "taken

chess-men stamped with such carriages, "quotidie in *abaco* luderet." (Suetonius, 22.) This passage confirms the reasoning in the text, about chess and chess-boards at Rome, as early as 79. It also fixes the meaning of two passages in Martial, which have hitherto been considered as dubious in their design;

Sic vincas Noviumque Publiumque,
Mandris et *vitrea* latrone clausos (vii. 71),

the chess-men here meant being of glass, the "mandræ" being the squares, and the two specified persons the *Philidors* of Rome at the time;

Insidiosorum si ludis bella latronum,
Gemmeus iste tibi miles et hostis erit (xiv. 20),

the glass being cut in the form of a jewel. All is confirmed by a short passage in Ovid;

Sive latrocinii sub imagine *calculus* ibit,
Fac pereat *vitreo* miles ab hoste tuus;

the first chess-men being merely *pebbles*, and the name still adhering when the materials were ivory or glass. And all enables us to appropriate to chess those reputed lines of Lucan, which, as Mr. Barrington owns, "must be allowed to contain stronger allusions to what "may be deemed chess, than any of the other passages," and which therefore no mere circumstance of omitting to notice the king, as Mr. Barrington would willingly allege *against* his own acknowledgment, can ever wrest away from chess.

Te si forte juvat studiorum pondere fessum
Non languere tamen, lususque movere per artem;
Callidiore modo, *tabulâ variatur apertâ*
Calculus, et *vitreo* peraguntur milite bella,
Ut *niveus nigros*, nunc et *niger* alliget *albos*.
Sed tibi quis non terga dedit, quis te duce cessit
Calculus, aut quis non periturus perdidit hostem?
Mille modis acies tua dimicat, ille petentem
Dum fugit, ipse rapit, longo venit ille recessu
Qui stetit in speculis, hic se committere rixæ
Audet, et in prædam venientem decipit hostem.
Ancipites subit ille moras, similisque ligato
Obligat ille duos, hic ad majora movetur,
Ut citus et fractâ prorumpat in agmina *mandrâ*.
Interea sectis quamvis acerrima surgunt
Prælia militibus, plenâ tamen ipse phalange,
Aut etiam pauco spoliatâ milite vincis;
Et tibi captivâ resonat manus utraque turbâ.

" taken place; but, I should rather suppose, during the 13th century, " upon the return of Edward the First from the Holy Land, where he " continued

But, having gone thus far with success, I may even venture to *appropriate* that very passage in Ovid, of which Mr. Barrington has so emphatically pronounced, " that no person, who is " acquainted with the *moves* even at chess, can read it with attention, and conceive that it is " alluded to." The reasons assigned for this assertion, on a dissection of the lines, are these: that " the second line, which makes it necessary for two pieces being employed in taking one, " is not applicable to chess;" that, by the seventh and eighth lines, " the squares or divisions " were but 12;" and that, " by the ninth, the number of the pieces were [was] only 6, " instead of 32." The first only shews some variation from our own in the mode of playing; just such as appears in Lucan's lines before, when he says,

. . . . . similisque ligato
Obligat ille *duos*;

and nearly such as Mr. Barrington has already conceded to be in his reputed parent of *all*; when he says the " Chinese," though " inventors,—have some additional pieces, which " differ from ours both in their *form* and *powers*." His second and third object, that the number of squares is merely 12, and of pieces only 6; when he previously acknowledges what he owns to be chess, and actually calls " arch-chess;" to have " 100 squares" in Italy (p. 17); and when very contradictorily he alleges in the page immediately following, that the game of Ithaca " differs most materially from chess, as the pieces were in number 108, " instead of 32," and the squares therefore still more. Mr. Barrington shifts his reasoning with his convenience; but the fact plainly is, that the " squares" or the " pieces," which must always have borne a proportion to each other, only the squares more in number than the pieces, were sometimes more and sometimes less in themselves. At Rome the " squares" were frequently *twelve*, but rose, at times, into *sixteen*, and occasionally mounted up to *thirty-two*, as they have since risen in Italy to 100, and had once mounted in Ithaca beyond 108. That they were *twelve*, frequently, in the first age of the empire, is shewn by this additional evidence in Martial:

Tabula Lusoria.

Hic mihi *bis seno* numeratur *tessera* puncto
Calculus hic *gemino* discolor *hoste* perit. (xiv. 17.)

But, in the only two chequers painted on the walls of Pompeii, we see the variation more striking: one differing from the other in the number of squares, and this having *sixteen*, while that has *thirty-two*. The passage in Ovid then, thus vindicated, gives us the general but contracted chess of the times.

Cautaque non stultè latronum prælia ludat,
Unus cum *gemino* calculus *hoste* perit;
Bellatorque suo plensus sine compare bellat
Æmulus, et cœptum sæpe recurrit iter;

Reticuloque

" continued so long, and was attended by so many English. The " Turks, who never change their habits, are still great players at this " game, which suits so well, both with their sedentary disposition and " love of taciturnity." We have seen a Turkish general playing the ' game so early as 1096, in the sight of an European in Palestine *, and ' during the first crusade; the European, even then, understanding the ' game and its appellation; and an historian of Britain, only about ' twenty years afterwards †, reciting the anecdote without wonder at ' the game, and without hesitation concerning the appellation. We ' have even seen the appellation of the chess-board, communicated pre- ' viously to cloths formed in assimilation to it, and transferred even ' to a high court among us. And we have actually beheld the repre- ' sentation of the chess-board, impressed upon the walls of our inns for ' ages in England, and still preserved upon the walls of Pompeii. In ' such circumstances, to talk about the introduction of chess into Eng- ' land during the thirteenth century, appears wildly ridiculous. We ' believe the Romans introduced chess, as they introduced all the arts ' and amusements of their empire, into this island.

" The first mention which I have met with, of chess being known in " England, is in a manuscript of Simon Aylward, said by Hyde to be " in the library of Magdalen college ‡. The same learned writer

Reticuloque pilæ[a] læves[b] funduntur *aperto*,
Nec nisi quam tolles ulla movenda pila est.
Est genus in *totidem* tenui ratione redactum[c]
Scriptula, quot menses lubricus annus habet.
Parva tabella capit *ternos utrinque lapillos*,
In quâ vicisse est continuasse suos.

But let me crown all with an anecdote concerning the emperor Proculus, yet long before he became emperor: " quum in quôdam convivio *ad latrunculos luderetur*, atque ipse *decies* " *imperator* exisset, quidam non ignobilis scurra *ave*, inquit, *Auguste*." (Hist. Aug. 967. Lug. Bat. 1661.)

* A mistake in the reviewer, for *Syria*.

† Malmesbury, f. 98.

‡ Authors, very much earlier, are cited in iii. 3, before.

[a] As nearly globular. [b] As cut glass. [c] As contracted chess.

" cites

" cites another manuscript, and of Lydgate, where are the following " lines,

" Was of a *fers* so fortunate,
" Into a corner drive and maat;

" which are very intelligible, if we suppose that the preceding line relates " to the piece called *the king*; and they will have the following mean- " ing, viz. ' the king was by a fortunate queen (of the adversary) " driven into a corner of the chess-board, and check-mated,' which of " course concludes the game." And, as a note adds, "*fers*" [or, as Mr. ' Barrington gives us the word, in p. 36, *pherz*] " is said to signify in the " Persian language, *general*, or *minister*, and is applied to that piece at " chess which we term the *queen*." It appears very unlucky for Mr. ' Barrington, that he had never met with that strong ray of light, which ' darts from the page of Malmesbury before; and that he dashed from ' his hand the torch, which Hyde seems to have put into it, from the ' establishment of an exchequer. We therefore see him, like Elymas in ' the cartoon of Raphael, reaching out his hands in the dark, and feel- ' ing for some kind leader; while we are looking on, with equal ' surprise and sorrow. But we here see a term in chess-playing, that ' was formerly popular in it, and is supposed to be Persian. This ac- ' cordingly serves strongly to mark the Persian derivation of the game, ' mediately or immediately, to our English fathers. But we think the ' term proves still more. *Fers* or *Pherz* we consider as the same with ' *Persia* itself; the *native* appellation of the country being *Pars* and ' *Phars*, formed by the Greeks and Romans into *Persis* and *Persia*. ' The queen then retaining the name of Persia, so late as the days of ' Lydgate in England; we have a double evidence of the Persian origin ' of the game.

' But let us here observe again some terms, that have diffused them- ' selves through our language. We have already noted some, that were ' only collateral, We wish now to remark others, that are in the direct ' line of descent. *Scacchia* forms in French *echec*, one of the pieces is ' said to be *checked* or *check*-mated, and the whole family of *checks*, as ' signifying stops or controls, is derived from the game of chess. So

' very

'very popular does the game appear again to have been among our 'ancestors!

"Our ancestors certainly played much at chess, before the general "introduction of cards; as no fewer than twenty-six English families "have emblazoned chess-boards and *chess-rooks* in their arms; and it "must therefore have been considered as a valuable accomplishment. "Hyde moreover states, that chess was much played at both in Wales "and Ireland, and that, in the latter, estates had depended upon the "event of a game. I must own, however, that I have some doubts "with regard to these facts, as neither of these countries were scarcely "civilized till the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. As for Wales, "I doubt much whether they have a term for the game in their own "language; which probably is true likewise, in regard to the Irish."

'That such a number of our English families have taken the board and 'some of the pieces at chess, for their armorial bearings; is an evidence 'concurring with the signs of our alehouses, and the terms of our lan-'guage, to shew the astonishing popularity of the game among us. 'Arms carrying the board are also said, in the language of heraldry, to 'be *checky* or *cheque*. This, however, does not complete the evidence 'for our island. Hyde gives us still more. "Chess," in or before his 'time, "was much played at both in Wales and in Ireland." Even 'whole "estates" in Ireland, he adds, have been staked "upon the "event of a game." All this extends the influence of the game, very 'widely over these islands. Mr. Barrington indeed mounts his hobby-'horse of *civility* again, in order to oppose the allegations. But the 'opposition is too weak, as we have seen before, to overthrow any 'allegations. These too depend upon the best of testimonies, may 'be meant as *posterior* to Mr. Barrington's era of civility, and, even if 'prior, are too well attested for the admission of such a doubt. Nor 'can Mr. Barrington's [additional] doubt, of the Welsh or the Irish 'having any term in their language for the game, avail in the least. 'The Welsh appear from those laws of Howel Dha, which an English-'man, fugitive in Wales for debt, to the disgrace of Wales first trans-'lated into Latin, and published to the world; to have had what is

'called

'called a *tawl-bwrdd* among the furniture of a nobleman's house‡. 'This, says the Englishman, is "mensa lusoria *similis* abaco qui in "ludo *scacchiæ* usurpatur.—Latrunculis ex utrâque parte usos fuisse "lusores constat, ut ad *scacchiæ* ludum *proximè accedere videtur.*— "Crediderim quidem ludum quem nos Anglicè vocamus *back-gammon* "hìc designari, ni *latrunculorum numerus obstiterit;* hujusce enim lusûs "nomen est purum putum Wallicum, *cammon* prælium, *bach* parvum, "quasi præliolum. A Wallis igitur ad nos hunc ludum provenisse, est "verisimillimum †." The number of pieces, then, preventing us from 'considering this as a back-gammon table, and the pieces and the board 'uniting to carry a strong resemblance to chess; we may naturally 'ascribe the board and the pieces to the latter. The very name too 'shews the game not to be back-gammon, and concurs to refer it to 'chess; *tawl-bwrdd* signifying the silent, the quiet board, from *tawel*, 'silent, quiet, *tawelwch*, silence, quietness, *taw*, silent, *tawedog*, silent; 'and so importing the chess-board, in direct contradiction to the rattling 'table of back-gammon. But the Irish have even a more decisive 'appellative for chess. This is *feoirna;* a term, that, like the *fers* of 'Lydgate, looks strongly to Persia for the parent of the game. And in 'that part of the Irish, which is spoken within the western Highlands, 'and called the Erse, are these denominations for chess, *bord-sheiss*, a 'chess-board, *cluich ur sheiss*, a game at chess, both borrowed (we 'suppose) from their neighbours the English; and one purely native 'and indigenous, *fear feoirna*, a chess-man. So thoroughly unhappy 'is Mr. Barrington, to the last*!

'On

‡ Wotton's Howel Dha, p. 279.

† P. 583.

* To increase this unhappiness in the text, let me subjoin one remark in a note. The Irish have "BRANNUMH, chess, a game played upon a square board, divided into *sixty-four* small *chequers*; on each side there are *eight men* and *as many pawns*, to be moved "and shifted according to certain rules. *An fitcheall acus an brannamh bàn* (old parchment) "properly means the men; *gon a bhrannailh dead* with his ivory men, because made of "elephant's teeth," like the "eburneæ" of Suetonius before. "*This was a favourite game* "with *the old Irish.* Lat. *scaccharum ludus.*" (Irish-English Dictionary, 1768, Paris, *anonymous*, but said by Mr. O'Halloran, in his Introduction to the History and Antiquities of Ireland, 65, to be written by Dr. John O'Brien, titular bishop of Cloyne, and praised by

'On the whole then, we think chess to have been a Persian invention, 'as Hyde alleges, and not a Chinese one, as Mr. Barrington surmises; 'that from Persia it went out, with the love of amusement, to Thibet, 'Indostan, Bengal, and China, upon one side, and the west of Europe 'on the other; that in Indostan it received little alteration, in China 'received some additions, and at Ithaca in Greece, particularly, suffered '[at once an addition and] a diminution, [an addition in number of 'pieces, but a diminution in] the second piece of the game, the queen 'being made supreme, in the room of the deposed king; that in the rest 'of Greece probably, and all over the Roman dominions, the king was 'restored to his rights, and the British chess is now nearly similar to the 'chess of Indostan; that the queen, however, retained as late as the 'days of Lydgate in England, the name which marked the family-descent 'of all; that the Romans, from their chess-boards drawn upon the 'walls of Pompeii, on or before the year 79, so exactly similar to what 'are represented upon the walls of our alehouses, and reflected in the 'titles of our inns, at present, appear to have been the introducers of 'chess among us; and that, from the Britons of the Roman empire, 'chess had migrated with its name of relation to Persia, among the 'neighbouring Picts and Hibernii, and still continues stamped with its 'name of relation, on the common language of the western Highlands 'and Ireland †.'

'Having spent so much time in stating what we think to be the true 'origin of chess, we can only notice in the most cursory manner a few 'more of Mr. Barrington's remarks. He refers, in p. 32, to Carte, i.

by Mr. O'Halloran much, in 109, &c.) So "*Fitchill* (I.) is tables or chess-board, *Ag* "*imirt fitchille* (I.), playing at tables or chess." And, what shews the nature of the instruments with which the game was played, *Dead* (I.), "a tooth—sometimes—implies "ivory," as an elephant's tooth, and sometimes (as above) a chess-man. With such a temerity of mind did Mr. Barrington presume to doubt of "the Irish having any term in "their language for the game." They had, it is plain from various signatures in their language, the game very familiar among them.

† The Highlanders retain the name of *chess*, while the Irish call it *brannumh* from those chess-men, which the Irish call *brannaibh*, and the Highlanders *brannumh*, at this day.

'445, for a quarrel at *chess* between the eldest son of Philip king of 'France, and Henry the Second, son of William the Conqueror, in 1087*; 'and answers it only—by "wishing, Carte had stated the term used in "the Norman Chronicle to which he refers." A poor reply surely, 'and unworthy of Mr. Barrington! "Hyde," he says also, *in p. 36*, "—mentions a set of chess-men preserved at St. Denys, which be- "longed to Charlemagne, and four of which were kings and queens." 'But how does he *evade* this strong allegation against him? "That "these pieces *cannot* be so ancient," he replies, "*seems* to be sufficiently "evident, both from the set being preserved entire for near ten centuries, "and from the principal pieces having Arabic characters on their back, "with the name of the maker. If Charlemagne was a player at chess, "*he would have probably employed an artist of his own dominions.*" A 'reply still more poor in itself, and more unworthy of Mr. Barrington, 'than the former! "In Muscovy," he adds†, "it is said to be *in* "great vogue among the shop-keepers—. Chess moreover is supposed "to be alluded to in some verses, which are inserted in the ancient "northern poems of Hervarar Saga; but the passage alluded to *may* "relate to other games, which are played upon a chequered board." '*Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris.* "Hyde indeed informs us, that "it is not unknown even in Iceland." A note adds: "I am informed "by Mr. professor Thorkelin, who is by birth an Icelander, that chess "(called *shak)* continues to be an amusement in that island, and [to be "played] by abler players than are to be found in Copenhagen." The 'Romans diffused the game of chess, under its Persian appellation of '*scacchia*, over all their empire; and even propagated it beyond the 'bounds of their empire, under the same appellation. Thus even the 'most distant and insulated Icelanders still retain it, under its Roman 'title of *scacchia*, or *shak*. But the game itself being deduced to the 'Romans from the Persians, the king (or president of the whole game) 'was naturally named, as "this piece is" actually "termed—in the "more eastern parts of Asia, *shach* or emperor‡," *shaw* or king, and

* A mistake in the reviewer, for "Henry I." in the author; and gravely corrected by the reviewer in a note, as the author's.

† P. 34. ‡ P. 35.

'20

'so conferred (we apprehend) the original name of σκακιον, *scacchia*,
'upon the whole game. And we may just subjoin from Mr. Barrington,
'in order to reduce all he says into a perfect conformity with this new
'hypothesis of ours, that "the term of *gambet* at chess, which hath
"been introduced (it is believed) into most European languages, is
"clearly of *Italian* original" (p. 25); that what "we call sometimes
"the *rook* but more commonly the *castle*, I conceive—to be derived
"from the *Italians*,—as *rocca* in that language not only signifies a *rook*
"but a *fortress*" (p. 37); that "the term of being *mated* seems also to
"be derived from the Italian *amazzato*, or killed," when it plainly is
'nothing more than the old English *mated* or subdued, and *check-mated*
'or subdued by a check*; that what "we call the *bishop*, and—the
"French call the *fou*, or fool, because anciently royal personages
"were commonly—attended" as closely by their fool, as the king and
'queen are by this piece, and which, "in Caxton's time, was styled
"the *elphyn*," seems therefore to have been named the bishop only
"after the Reformation," and, "in the chess-pieces which belonged
"to Charles I." this piece has a top "somewhat resembling a bishop's
"mitre" (p. 37 and 38); that the "term of *pawn* is probably taken
"from the *Spanish* word *peon*, which signifies a *foot-soldier*" (p. 33);
'though "the pawns in Caxton's time were of different figures, and not
"all uniform, as at present," while "the pawn before the queen (for
"example) represents the queen's spicer or apothecary, see Caxton's
"book on chess" (p. 38)‡; and that chess—continued to be the
"favourite game throughout Europe till it was dropt for cards, not by
"their superiority surely, but because inferior players at other games

Derived through Italy.

* Rather, as the ever-instructive Skinner derives it in *check*, from the Italian "scacco
"*matto*," a piece subdued at chess; both words, and the French *mat* or *mattée*, check-
mated or subdued, being the old Latin *mattus*, subdued, which Salmasius finds in one of
Cicero's epistles to Atticus, xvi. 12. (Notes on Hist. Aug. 967, 968.)

‡ This may with much greater propriety be derived with *rook* and *gambet* and *mated*,
from the language of that Italy, which through France gave us chess at first. "A *pawn* at
"chess," says Skinner, "a Fr. G. [Franco-Gallica] *pion*, It. *pedina*, *pedone*," laxly,
"latrunculus," a *chess-man*, but in strictness a *foot-soldier*.

"had a better chance of winning" (p. 26), because, as king James 'judiciously says, not "in his Εικων Βασιλικη," as Mr. Barrington affirms, 'but in his Δωρον Βασιλικον, as the fact really is, chess "is over-wise" '(p. 31), has too little of the relaxation of amusement in it, and exposes 'a man too much to the unknown strength of his antagonist's sagacity, 'and because, as Mr. Barrington himself infers, "it being impossible to "know the full force of your antagonist, no one would play at chess for "money" any more (p. 26).

'We trust the readers of our Review will thank us, for this long dis-'section of Mr. Barrington's paper, and for the original matter which we 'have introduced into it. And, if Mr. Barrington be the man that we 'take him to be, he will be the first to thank us.'

SOME NEW REMARKS.

"Sir William Jones has *informed* us," says Francis Douce, esq. in a set dissertation on the origin of chess; "that chess was invented by the "Hindoos; from *the testimony of the Persians*, who *unanimously agree*, "that it was *imported from the west of India*, in the SIXTH century *." This daring declaration is repelled at once, by the historical proofs before; and must appear therefore to every critical reader, in the energetical but colloquial language of Johnson, the more energetical by being colloquial, a mere throwing of peas against a rock. The chess-board was known even at *Rome* itself, as we have seen before, in the very FIRST century. Nor is there any possibility of pretending, in order to cover this glare of error; that the sixth century of the author, or of sir William Jones, means one of an epocha different from the common, the æra of the Seleucidæ, the æra of Nabonassar, or the æra of the Mahometans. Both these writers do plainly refer by their manner to the common epocha; and Mr. Douce particularly confirms the suggestion, by what he alleges from sir William a few lines below, by speaking of "the *Arabs*, who *soon after* took possession of their [the Persians] "country †."

* Archæ. xi. 397. † P. 398.

Mr.

Mr. Douce equally remarks from the original architect of this falsely bearing fabric, what almost equally undermines all which he attempts to erect; that "*no account of the game* has *hitherto been discovered* in "the *classical writings of the brahmins*, though it is *confidently* asserted "that *Shanscrit books on chess* exist ‡." The confidence imposed upon both these gentlemen, even when the non-appearance should have cured their credulity. Just so the *unanimous testimony* of the Persians before, seduced them into a belief directly opposed by the facts of history. And a false gem of paste is worshipped by these worse than Indians, in preference to the sun bursting forth from the gates of the East.

But I must notice more at large some points in Mr. Douce's essay, that illustrate the *names* of the pieces at chess, and actually (without the author's perception of the result) subvert again the very hypothesis which he has been framing with sir William. After such an egregious stumble, as we have seen this author making at the very first step, it certainly is not *necessary* for my argument to attend his movements any longer. But it is very *useful*. And I shall be able, I trust, to shew his various rays of intelligence diverging widely from his own *focus*, to improve some of them, and then collect them with new rays into the true *focus* of all.

"The principal piece,—by all the writers who have mentioned the "game,—is uniformly styled the KING §." At Ithaca, however, Homer says it was called *Penelope*.

"With respect to the piece next in rank, and now (I believe) univer-"sally called the QUEEN,—it is certain that the French, and after them "the English, during the middle ages, adopted a very different name:" *Fierce* in Roman de Cassamus MS. *Fierees* in Roman de la Rose MS. *Feers* in Chaucer's Dream of Love ‖. "The term is borrowed from the "Eastern word Pherz," notes our author in consonance with Mr. Barrington, "which means a counsellor or general ¶." Yet how then

‡ Archæ. xi. 398. § Ibid. ibid. ‖ P. 399. ¶ Ibid. ibid.

comes the piece to be called a queen afterwards? As Mr. Douce conjectures, from "the similarity in sound between the words *pherz* and "*vierge*." This very weak conjecture Mr. Douce endeavours to strengthen from an old poem in Latin, "commonly ascribed to Ovid, "but with more probability supposed to have been written during the "middle ages, by a monk named Pamphilius Maurus*;" in which "the queen is called *virgo* †." In Poland and Russia, however, he alleges himself, and so destroys his own conjecture, "it is—called the "*old woman* or *nurse* ‡." This transition of ideas, therefore, is one that cannot possibly be marked in the mind of man; *unless* the symbol stamped upon the piece originally, was *a Persian woman*. This, and this alone, can account for the *nurse*, the virgin, and the queen, all in one piece.

"The BISHOP was, by the English writers before cited," Horman in 1519, and Caxton antecedent to him, "called *alphyn*, *awfyn*, and *alfin*: "by the *old French* romancers, *aufin*.—The present Spanish and *Italian* "chess-terms, *alfieres*,—*alfiere*, or *alfino*,—are evidently from the same "source.—The French, at a very early period, called this piece *fol*—. "It is easy to trace this term from the original, *fil*," said by Hyde to be "Arabic," and "the name of this piece on the Eastern chess-board;" though it occurs not before "the beginning of the fourteenth century," and though the previous name is very different. "It occurs in the "Roman de la Rose, and in a manuscript of the Roman du Vœu de Paon, "where it is likewise called *aufin*.—The French yet retain this name [that "name of *fol*]; and I have seen French and *German* chess-men, among "which this piece has occurred. I have not been able to discover when "this piece was first called an *archer*, or for what reason.—Dr. Hyde, in "his description of what are usually called Charlemagne's chess-men, in "the treasury of St. Dennis, makes it to be an *archer*—." In the poem also cited before, as ascribed to Ovid, the elphin is called the bishop expressly,

. . . . . Alphinus *episcopus* ipse est.

Accordingly "the Poles" call it "the *priest*;" and "in a very old Latin

* Archæ. xi. 404. † P. 400. ‡ P. 399.

"poem

" poem upon chess, printed by Dr. Hyde from a manuscript in the " Bodleian library, the piece next the king," or next but one, as it should have been called, " is termed *calvus*, and" so " denotes a monk," or a secular clergyman, " with a shaven crown." All this variety of names has resulted assuredly from the only incident that can account for such a variety, a similarity in the symbols on the piece to a *mitre*, and a *bow*. " The English and Danes alone, in modern times, called " it the *bishop*; and the first mention of this term that I have met with " in England, is in Saul's Famous Game of Chesse-play, originally " published in 1640; who says—the bishop" is " representing the " clergy ' with high cloven heads like a bishop's miter *'." The mitre made the *bishop*, the *priest*, and the *calvus*. The mitre then, was always there. Yet how could it come thither, if the piece was either Indian or Persian? It came from the use of a mitre among the priests of Persia, confined to the high-priest assuredly in the present form, but common to all the priests in this or in another †; a fact that carries a high antiquity with it for the mitre, as I have previously remarked, because a figure appears to this day with a mitre on its head, upon the rocks near Persepolis ‡; and a circumstance, in the fact, that accounts satisfactorily for the present denomination of the piece, sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a bishop, the old ideas prevailing equally with the new upon the mind. At the tomb of the kings still nearer to Persepolis, appears equally in the front of the rock above, " an altar with fire burn- " ing on it; and," what wonderfully accounts for the equal appellation of *archer* with *bishop* for the piece, " a *reverend* person holding a *bow* in " his hand §." This occurs in two places, the bow being rested at one end upon the ground, and having the left hand of the priest laid upon the other, while the right is protended in prayer to the fire ‖. In this form, the idolatrous priest and his idol fire were naturally execrated by the zeal of the Christians, and denominated *elfyn* or the dæmons; *ælfenne* being the plural of the Saxon *elf*, the Teutonic *alp*, or the Belgic *alf*, signifying some lesser deities of German demonology, and passing

* Archæ. xi. 400, 405. † See iii. 2, before. ‡ Ibid. ibid.
§ Ant. Univ. History, v. 115. ‖ Ibid. plates 31, 32.

with the Lombards of Germany (I apprehend) into Italy. But others again acted in the same contracted attention to parts, which called out the bow and the mitre into separate discriminations for the piece, yet with an indistinctness of vision, that formed the bow into a *proboscis*, and changed the peaks of the mitre into *two ears erected*; as "the "Germans call this piece the *hound* or *runner*, the Russians and Swedes "the *elephant* ¶." Nor is the name of *fol*, which the French have latterly given to the piece, referrible to any other principle, than that popular association of ideas which has pervaded all Christendom; of the elves or fairies stealing children peculiarly brisk from their cradles, and substituting others peculiarly dull in their place. Hence "esprit *follet*," signifies an elf now with the French, "un *follet*," a hobgoblin; as a *changeling* means an idiot, and *auf*, or *oaf*, a stupid man, among ourselves, though *that* is primarily a fairy-child exchanged, and *this* is actually an *alf* or *elf*.

"The KNIGHT has been *always so called* upon the *French* and *English* "chess-boards. It is probable, that he was represented in the earliest "times as *mounted* upon his *charger*. Vida has so described this piece; "and hence, in modern times, it has been simply termed the *horse*, and "*so represented*. The Spaniards and *Italians* have adopted *both those* "*names*" of horse and knight, "but *give it the form of a horse's head*. "With us it is—represented as a horse's head." This account throws a strong light back upon the immediately preceding, and shews how the bow or the mitre came to be severally the discriminations of the piece; even by being severally stamped upon it. In this disposition alone, could the bow have been taken for a proboscis, and the two peaks of the mitre considered as two erected ears of a hound. "These pieces—, "among Charlemagne's men,—have been converted into centaurs," that is, are represented, with some dimness, as men on horseback. "The "Germans, from the nature of their motion on the board," or rather from their aspect as horses, "call them *leapers*; among the Poles and "Danes they are termed *knights*, and among the Russians *horses* *."

¶ Archæ. xi. 404. * P. 405, 406.

This

This instance serves strikingly to shew us, how little we can expect to find original appellations adhering to the pieces at present, how much the present appellations are derived from the aspect of the pieces, but how some nations have taken only one half of the aspect, while others have taken the halves both together.

"The origin of our ROOK is certainly to be sought for in the old "French term *roc*,—but" this "was immediately borrowed, together "with the Spanish and *Italian* terms, from *ruc*, the *Eastern name of this* "*piece*.—But a difficulty arises in ascertaining, whether the most an- "cient Eastern *ruc* was represented as a *dromedary*—. Mons. D'Herbelot "informs us, that *rokh*, in the Persian language, signifies a valiant *hero* "seeking after military adventures; *in which character*, he says, it was "introduced into the game of chess.—But *it is needless to prosecute this* "*inquiry any farther*, after sir William Jones has informed us, that "the rook is to be deduced from *rot'h* of the old Hindoo game of chess, "which was *an armed chariot* *." The very contradictoriness of this derivation from the East, precludes all possibility of belief in it. The rashness also, in asserting "ruc" to be "the Eastern name of this piece," when the name afterwards proves to be "rot'h," a very different one, doubly precludes all possibility. Yet we need not dwell upon this rashness, or that contradictoriness, as Mr. Douce immediately sweeps both away, with an unwary hand. "I conceive," he proceeds to add †, unconscious of his own deviation from himself, "that our term *castle*, "as applied to this piece, is of a very modern date, and that, with the "French *tour*, it originated from its shape," *not* as an armed chariot, which in all consistency it ought to be, *but* as a tower or castle. "*It is* "*so represented* in the early *Italian* dissertations on the game, although "uniformly called *il roccho*." The author meant surely to have written, *and therefore is uniformly called il roccho*. The argument certainly requires the change. But the author is much confused here in his movements, and so turns again upon his own course, in the words immediately following. "*Some careless writers* confounding this term,

* Archæ. xi. 406, 407. † P. 407, 408.

"which

" which is evidently from the same source as the old French *roc*, with " *rocca*, a fortress; have increased the mistake by tracing a supposed " connexion between a *castle* and a *fortress*; which has given rise to a " multitude of conjectures." What a mass of confusion have we here before us! Let me unravel it a little. He here intimates again the *roccho* of the Italians and the *roc* of the French, to be derived from his *ruc*, alias *rot'h*, an armed *chariot*; when he has just before informed us, that this rook " is—represented" as a *castle* " in the *early* Italian " dissertations," and that the name of castle, he " conceives,—" originated from its *shape*." But contradictoriness always attends upon confusedness. Yet who are the " careless writers," that have " con- " founded" this term of *roccho* with " *rocca*, a fortress?" Even they, it seems, who " have increased the mistake, by tracing a *supposed* con- " nexion, between" two objects *so very nearly connected* in *reality*, as " a *castle* and a *fortress*." Confusion perhaps did never do her own work before with a completer satisfaction in the labour of her hands. Yet she has still greater satisfaction. " It is probable," adds the author, " that the *European* form of the *castle*," which he has previously stated only as mere *Italian*, " was copied in part from some *ancient Indian* " piece," what in conformity to its *name* ought to have had *an armed chariot*, but what this very forgetful author now believes, and with reason, to have been charged " with the *elephant* and *castle on his back*. " It is *thus described by Vida*; and whilst the French, Spaniards, Eng- " lish, and *Italians*," the three first from the last, " have retained the " *tower* only," so calling it *rocco* or fortress, " the Danes and Germans " have adopted the *elephant* without the castle, by the former of which " names it is also called by them.—By the Poles this piece is also termed " the *rook*—. Among Charlemagne's pieces, it is termed the *elephant*." This adoption of separate parts in the representation as a denomination for the whole unites with the same sort of adoption in the *bishop*, to shew the familiarity of the practice in all these terms for chess-men. The rook then had upon it originally a tower-backed elephant, and afterwards a tower separately, or an elephant by itself, as Mr. Douce has properly conjectured at last; though before he " conceives—our " term *castle*—is of a *very modern* date," yet allows it is so represented

" in

"in the *early* Italian dissertations," even conceives the name to have "originated from its *shape*," and now conjectures this *shape* to have been "borrowed in part from some *ancient Indian* piece;" a *very modern* name being derived from an *early* representation, even from an *ancient* and *original* one. But setting aside all these contradictions by picking the single truth out of them all, the name is plainly derived, not from any imaginary *ruc* of the East, which perhaps is, and perhaps is not a *dromedary*, not from the real *rokh* of the Persians, which is said to be a *hero*, and not from the real *rot'h* of the Indians, which is equally said to be an *armed chariot*, but from the *rocca* or *rocco* of the Italians, a name actually descriptive of one of the two objects in the representation upon it, used by some nations in its nearly Italian form, as *rook*, and used by others under a translation into *tower* or *castle*.

"It remains," as Mr. Douce subjoins *, "only to notice the PAWNS. "These appear to have been *always* so called among *ourselves*, and by "the French in the middle ages *paon*,—*poons*,—and *pionnes*:—they "are—probably from *pedones*, a barbarous Latin term for *foot-soldiers*.— "By the *Italians* they are called *pedone*, by the Spaniards *peones*: the "Russians and Poles make them also *foot-soldiers* †." The name, therefore, flows from the Italian, and the stream has come coloured through France into Britain; the Italian *pedone* softening into *peon*, *poon*, or *pawn*.

All attempts, then, to deduce the appellations of the pieces in chess from the language of India, prove impotent and ridiculous in the result; they are all but one confessed by the very attempters themselves to be *Italian*: even that one appears now to be more evidently *Italian* than any of the others. All, therefore, unite in their testimony against that very hypothesis of an Indian origin, in favour of which they were produced by Mr. Douce: one of them apparently carries the very name of *Persia* on its head, and another as apparently had the very symbols of *Persia* once upon it. Even Mr. Douce himself unites unconsciously

* Archæ. xi. 408, 409. † P. 408, 409.

with his leader, sir William Jones, by deriving one of the names from the Indian *rot'h, as mispronounced* into *rokh* by *the Persians*, and as *so giving birth* to the Italian *roccho*, the French *roc*, with the English *rook*, to make *Persia*, not India, the parent of the game to Europe. Italy thus appears, in direct contradiction to the hypothesis of both, but in full accordance with the voice of history, to have been the transmitter of the Persian game to the western nations of Europe, at a time when Italy was the mistress of Europe, and when only she could form the chain connecting western Europe with Persia.

No.

No. II.

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF FREE MASONS.

In the body of the work I have sufficiently refuted the origin assigned to these masons by an ingenious essay in the Archæologia *. But another essay here arises before me, and with a louder voice demands its reprobation at my hand; this is a tract "said to be printed at Franck-"fort in Germany, 1748," under a German title, but wholly English in all the rest. If the first essay takes a flight upwards, to the hazard of its author's neck, the second mounts into the clouds at once, and hardly ever comes within sight of earth again: to expose this, therefore, as I have exposed that, is necessary for giving a full completeness to my reasoning before.

Subjoined to the life of Leland is this tract, consisting of a text and notes †. The text professes to be a set of questions and answers concerning masonry; questions supposed to be put in privy council, and answers returned by some free masons, but both "wryttenne by the "hande of kynge Henrye the Sixthe of the name." The text will thus be acknowledged to carry an historical authority with it, *if* the hand-writing of Henry be ascertained; yet, till it is, we see an apparent absurdity in the process alleged, the king himself playing the humble part of a clerk in council, as taking down the questions and the answers with his own hand.

How then is the hand-writing ascertained? By attestation only: the original is lost, a copy alone remains. Yet how is the original attested to have ever existed, and how is the copy attested to be a just transcript

* See ii. 3. † P. 96, 103.

of it? The same title to the text which avers it to be written by the sixth Henry, equally avers it to be "faythfullye copyed by me, Johan "Leylande, antiquarius, by the commaunde of his highnesse" the eighth Henry. This attestation undoubtedly is sufficient for every purpose of authentication, *if* it is authenticated itself; but, alas! it is not; Leland's attestation is equally non-apparent with Henry's hand-writing: the whole, indeed, is here said to be "a MS. in the Bodleian library ‡." Yet where in the Bodleian it is, is not said; or who ever saw it there, is not noticed. Even the biographer of Leland, who wrote in Oxford and printed at the Clarendon press, who therefore was peculiarly enabled to discover, and interested to consult, the original of his own publication, was forced to content himself with leaving it to say, that, "from— "obvious—mistakes—it is evident this treatise was not printed from "Leland's original transcript, but rather from a secondary copy of an "unlearned copyist, who only could fall into the egregious errors" of it §; with only adding himself, that "an ancient MS. of Leland's has "long remained in the Bodleian library, unnoticed in any account of "our author yet published," and unknown in its existence to this very writer, as he subjoins, that "*if* the authenticity," and should have rather subjoined, if the very existence "of this ancient monument of "literature *remains unquestioned*, it demands particular notice in the "present publication ‖;" and with then publishing it from—"the Gen- "tleman's Magazine, September 1753 ¶."

Yet this treatise professes to be printed from a copy direct of Leland's, and to prefix "a letter of the famous Mr. John Locke," under the date "of May 6, 1696," in testimony of that. The letter is addressed "to "the Rt. Hon. *** earl of ****;" speaks to him of "that MS. in the "Bodleian library which you were so curious to *see*;" and adds, "I "have at length, by the help of Mr. C—ns, procured a copy *." And as Mr. Locke in this letter acknowledges himself the author of the notes to the text, so all are declared to have been found "in the desk or scri-

‡ P. 96. § P. 103. ‖ P. 67. ¶ P. 96. * P. 96.

" toir of a deceased brother †." With such a bold appeal to names, with such a confident cital of anonymous inspection and anonymous preservation, yet with so much suspectibility in its countenance, has this English text of Henry's writing, and Leland's copying, with these English notes and English letter by Locke, been published in *Germany* more than *half a century after the date of Locke's letter!*

The tract, however, has imposed upon many, I believe: it has certainly imposed so far upon the biographer of Leland, that with some dubiousness he inserted it as a real transcript of Leland's. Yet it shews the flare of forgery playing visible upon every lineament of its face, particularly in making masonry " begynne with the fyrste menne yn the " *Este*, whych were *before* the fyrste manne of the *Weste*," in making the " Venetians," for the Phenicians, bring it into the West; and in making " Peter Gower," for the French Pytagore, or the Greek Pythagoras, " frame a grate lodge at Groton," for Crotona, " yn Grecia " Magna," of which some masons went to France and some to England ‡. Even if the free masons then were so ignorant, amidst all their professed knowledge of all their ancient history, from or before Adam to the days of Pythagoras, as to force Pythagoras upon a new transmigration into Peter Gower, to turn Crotona into Groton, and to modernize the Phenicians into Venetians, yet Henry would certainly not have written all their barbarisms of pronunciation in their full and uncorrected tone of ignorance; still less would Leland have copied them all, without correction, without notation, for the eighth Henry. Even if Leland *could* have copied, even if the sixth Henry *could* have written them, yet we have already seen the free masons of *this very Henry*'s reign to have been *mere mechanics, mere handicraftsmen, mere labourers in brick and mortar;* who therefore *knew nothing of* Crotona, *knew nothing of* Pythagoras, *knew nothing of the* Phenicians.

History and criticism thus unite to lay their iron hands in concert upon the head of this treatise, and to stamp their brand of forgery deep

† P. 96. ‡ P. 98, 99.

into

into the thick scull of its front. Yet for what purpose was it forged? When we examine the whole more nicely, we perceive such an air of studied extravagance; we see such an appearance of a laugh ready to break out, but stifled for the moment; we catch such symptoms of a smile, sitting upon the lips, and just opening them into a grin, as shew the whole to be fabricated on purpose to play upon the faith, and to glory over the credulity of all who give credit to it.

I was therefore induced at first, from the reference of Locke to Collins, and from the timid contraction of Collins's name into C—ns by Locke, to suppose the procurer of the copy was the fabricator of the original. From the known infidelity of Collins, from the known connexion of Locke with him, I suppose Collins very capable of putting such a forgery upon Locke; and I believe Collins very likely to put it, in order to play upon and to glory over the credulity of a man who was engaged in the folly of Arianism with infidels, but refused to go on with them into the sottishness of infidelity. The connexion of Collins with Locke, the intimacy subsisting between their persons in some similarity of their principles, and the Arianism of Locke shooting up into the very infidelity of Collins, as Arianism has so sadly shot up in others *, are recorded in very mournful characters upon the face of an useful anecdote. "This "person," says my religious friend and respectable intimate, the late Dr. Horne, bishop of Norwich, concerning Collins, "on his death-bed "was under great anxiety; and just before he expired, with a deep sigh "pronounced the following words, LOCKE HAS RUINED ME! His niece, "who attended him at the time, related this circumstance to Mr. Wogan, "the pious author of an Essay on the proper Lessons, as he assured a "friend of mine," one to my knowledge worthy of all credit, "the "Rev. Dr. Merrick, of St. Ann's, Soho †."

Yet, upon closer inspection, I believe it to be a forgery upon Collins as well as Locke; the sly air of imposition, half concealed, yet half revealed, marks equally the notes of Locke with the text of Collins, and

* Origin of Arianism, 497, 498. † Jones's Life of Bishop Horne, 278.

marks

marks the notes indeed more glaringly even than the text: it thus pervades the substance of both thoroughly, and both therefore appear the manufacture of one mind. The grand aim of both is the exaltation of masonry to the sky; nor is this exaltation the simple effusion of attachment, the result of zeal and indiscretion in a brother mason; it is merely the insidious flattery of a foe, exalting in order to depress, mounting the higher with masonry in order to give it a greater fall, and bearing it on the waxen wings of Icarus towards the sun, that there *they* may melt, and *it* tumble headlong into the deep. The wilful wildness of extravagance throughout a text that was plainly written for the notes, and the solemn soberness of extravagance throughout notes that were as plainly drawn up at the same time with the text, shew this conspicuous to the examining eye. But we see this displayed particularly in one passage, in which the text avers free masons *to have taught mankind all the arts of life*, even *all religion* likewise; and a note adds, "that—they have "*their own* authority for it, and *I know not how we shall disprove* "*them* ‡." In this manner, and with this view, do we behold those who appear from their very name to be merely the modern sons of England, to be the mere "masons," and mere "labourers" of England during the reign of Henry VI. converted in *England* by the wand of this roguish Mercury, assuming the person of Locke, adopting the clothes of Collins, but wearing the mask of Momus; sometimes into the philosophers of Greece, then with a designed contradictoriness into the founders of all the arts to mankind, and with a designed contradictoriness again, into the very fathers of all religion to the world. The humble trowel of our bricklayers is thus enshrined in glory over the altar, and has thus a temple erected to its honour, merely to engage the worship of the free masons, and to draw down upon them the ridicule of the world for it.

Sunt geminæ *somni* portæ; quarum altera fertur
Cornea, quâ *veris* facilis datur exitus umbris;
Altera, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed *falsa* ad cœlum mittunt insomnia manes.

‡ P. 100.

His

His ubi tum natum Anchises unàque Sibyllam
Prosequitur dictis, *portâque emittet eburnâ* §.

§ To that origin of free masons in England, as mere "masons" and mere "labourers," which I have exposed in ii. 3, before, let me add their first appearance upon our records as "free" masons. We have a deed from the prior and monks of Bath, in consideration of the good services shewn, and to be shewn, "a dilecto nobis in Christo Johanne Multon "FREMASON," granting him "officium magistri omnium operum nostrorum *vulgariter* "nuncupatorum FREMASONRY," when it shall be vacant. This was "dat. in domo nostrâ "capitulari primo die Februarii anno regni regis *Henrici Octavi—vicesimo octavo.*" (Warner's History of Bath, Appendix, p. 55, 1801.) No longer a mere mason, no longer ranked therefore among mere labourers, he was now distinguished with the title of *free* mason, and was now intrusted with the superintendency of buildings; he was intrusted even with the superintendency of large buildings, became a retained superintendant of their repairs, was retained by anticipation of death in the very lifetime of the superintendant retained before, and had a salary "quadraginta solidos" assigned him, "necnon liberatam panni ad togam," *a livery of cloth for a gown*, "cùm et quoties liberatam dari contigerit," whenever the other lay officers of the priory had one. We thus see the builders of Solomon's temple, the architects perhaps of the tower of Babel, for the first time appearing as free masons and as architects at all upon the records of England, the only records of their existence *under* the moon.

No. III.

CONCERNING A VICTORY ATTRIBUTED TO ST. GERMAN IN WALES.

In that period of our island annals, which succeeds immediately to the departure of the Romans from us; the sun of history, which came with the Romans to enlighten us, now retiring with them again to leave us in darkness; we behold a very extraordinary victory ascribed to the relinquished Britons, and we find it denominated from its principal circumstance *the Alleluiah victory*. It is even noticed by Usher, as the general theme of conversation among the scholars of his time, then much more attentive than scholars now are, to the ecclesiastical or miraculous points of history; and the general subject of history among the authors of that or the preceding century, all agreeing in the belief of the incident, all endeavouring to remove the difficulties of the narrative, all trying to ascertain the precise period of the whole *. The narrative was written by one Constantius, a clergyman of Lyons in France, a cotemporary with Sidonius Apollinaris, and the very person to whom Sidonius dedicated the first eight books of his epistles †. He is even described in Sidonius's ninth, as "a man of singular seriousness, of salutary prudence, in his "publications excelling other men of eloquence, whether engaged on the "same subjects or on different, in the endowments of a superior rhetoric ‡." In a preface to a work of the ninth century we are particularly told, that Constantius wrote the Life of Germanus, in which the Alleluiah victory is recorded, "at a time when the memory of the saint "yet breathed fresh in the mouths of all, and many were yet surviving

The Alleluia Victory.

* Usher, 179: "Illam omnium sermone atque scriptis celebratissimam, victoriam Alle-"luiaticam." See also 180.

† Usher, 175.

‡ Usher, 175: "Ut 'virum singularis ingenii, salutaris consilii, in tractatibus publicis "ceteros eloquentes, seu diversa sive paria decernat, præstantioris facundæ dotibus antecel-"lentem' prædicat, lib. 9, epist. 16."

"who saw him alive upon earth §." Such a writer therefore, so respectable in understanding, and so near to the very time, should carry a considerable weight of authority with him. The narration of the victory comes within a very little distance from the period of it; and Bede has accordingly done Constantius the honour to transcribe that narration into his own history ‖. Yet, after all, the whole narrative is merely a fiction, I think, historically incredible in its circumstances, historically false in its substance.

SECTION I.

"THE SAXONS and PICTS," says Constantius, "engaged in war with "united forces against the BRITONS, whom the same necessity had com- "bined in a camp against *them*; and when the Britons, in the trepida- "tion of their spirits, judged themselves almost unequal to the contest, "they requested the aid of the holy bishops," Germanus and Lupus, "who, hastening their promised arrival, gave as much security and con- "fidence, as if a very great army had been believed to have joined them. "Under these apostolical generals therefore, Christ warred in the camp. "The venerable days of Lent were also come, which were made more "religious by the presence of the priests ¶." The Picts and the Saxons, it

§ Usher, 175, 176, cites "Sigebert Gemblacens.—in Chronic. ann. 877," for "Erricus "Autissiodorensis monachus," who put Constantius's Life of Germanus into verse, writing another work upon the miracles omitted in the Life of Germanus, and speaking of Constantius in his preface thus; that he wrote the Life "'cùm per ora cunctorum sancti recens ad- "huc spiraret memoria, pluresque qui eum degentem in seculo viderant superessent'."

‖ Bede Hist. i. 17-20, &c.

¶ For the Life in general, see "Constant. de Vitâ Germani, lib. i. cap. 19, MS. in bibli- "othecâ Sarisburiensi et Cottonianâ, et apud Surium, tom. iv. Jul. 31," Usher 170, and for this incident in particular, Usher 179: "'Interea Saxones Pictique bellum adversus "Britones junctis viribus susceperunt, quos eadem necessitas in castra contraxerat; et cùm "trepidi partes suas penè impares judicarent, sanctorum antistitum auxilium petierunt. Qui, "promissum maturantes adventum, tantum securitatis ac fiduciæ contulerunt; ut accessisse "maximus crederetur exercitus. Itàque, apostolicis ducibus, Christus militabat in castris. "Aderant

it seems, were united into one army against the Britons; while these *opposed* them indeed in the field, but kept themselves close to their camp. Even there they were apprehensive for the consequences; and therefore desired the two bishops of France, who were by accident in the country at the time, to come and join them. This was a very natural action in men, alarmed at their situation, yet Christian in their spirits. By such, the presence of two saint-like bishops might be well considered, as likely to have a peculiar efficacy in lowering their fears and in exalting their hopes, by their religious addresses to them, or their devout supplications with them. We accordingly find, that the whole army of the Britons considered the arrival of the bishops as equivalent to a second army. We even find, that, "under these apostolical generals, Christ" is said by Constantius to have actually "warred in the camp." And we finally find, that these Britons kept "Lent" very strictly; only kept those "venerable days" in a "*more* religious" manner, because of "the pre-"sence of the priests." So thoroughly was the whole country of Britain engaged at the time, in professing and in practising the Christian religion!

Yet we read immediately afterwards another account. The observance of Lent was kept with such strictness, adds Constantius, "that the "Britons were instructed by preachings *every day*, and were eager to fly "to the blessing of BAPTISM: for the greatest part of the army requested "the saving waters of BAPTISM. A church is framed and wattled toge-"ther with leafy boughs against the day of the Lord's Resurrection, and "in a military expedition is fitted up like a city. Washed by BAPTISM, "the army marches forth *." The Britons, we thus find to our surprise, were

"Aderant etiam Quadragesimæ venerabiles dies, quos religiosiores reddebat præsentia sacer-"dotum'."

* Constantius in Usher, 179: "'In tantum ut, quotidianis prædicationibus instituti, "certatim ad gratiam baptismatis convolarent. Nam maxima exercitûs multitudo undam "lavacri salutaris expetiit. Ecclesia ad diem Resurrectionis Dominicæ frondibus contexta "componitur, et in expeditione campestri instar civitatis aptatur. Madidus baptismate pro-"cedit exercitus'." Those words "'maxima exercitûs multitudo'," might be translated "th

were *not* Christians. Those who had sent for the two bishops to come and join them; those who had exulted at their arrival, as if they had received the reinforcement of a second army; those who had "Christ" thus "warring in the camp" along with them; had not yet (we find) been instructed in the *elements* of the Gospel. Even those who had always kept Lent, who now kept it only *more* strictly than they had used to do, had not yet been admitted into the *profession* of Christianity. So retrograde does the history move as it proceeds! All Britain is represented as still heathenish, though it had just invited and urged two bishops out of France, *not* to come and convert and christianize them, *but* to refute some heresies that were beginning to disgrace their Christianity. An army of *un*-baptized Britons is described as imploring those very bishops to come into their camp, and as exulting when they came, at the vast accession of strength which they had now received. A host of *heathens* is thus exhibited to us as *keeping Lent*, as keeping it *more* religiously than they used to keep it, and as finally receiving *baptism* at Easter. So palpably contradictory is one part of the narration to another!

But to consider the narration in a more historical manner; we have here two armies in the field so early as the *commencement* of *Lent*. This was very early indeed; yet the point is plainly asserted. They were encamped *before* the bishops arrived; as *after* their arrival we are told, that "the venerable days of Lent were also come." These the soldiers now kept, were during them "instructed by preachings every day" from the bishops, and were finally "washed by baptism" on "the day of the "Lord's Resurrection." Thus an army, which cannot *now* take the field even on the southern shore of Britain, before the beginning of May, could *then* take it in the very north of Wales (for such the scene of action will immediately appear to be fixed by Usher), in the end of February or before. So much is the supposed fate of Italy as to warmth, reversed in Britain; and so much *colder* than it was, is Britain grown at present! But the author of the narrative was a Frenchman, an inhabitant too in the south of France; and in the midst of those inventions, with which

"the very great mass of the army;" but are confined to the sense in which I have translated them, by these words occurring soon, "'pars major exercitûs'," for the very same object.

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he thought it right to embellish the history of Germanus, he forgot the difference of latitude between the countries *in* which and *of* which he wrote, and betrayed his fiction by his folly.

This was the only army too which the Roman provinces of Britain could furnish at the time. The commander of it thought himself unequal to a contest with the enemy; yet did not send for fresh succours. None therefore were to be had; and he sent for the two bishops, because he could have *them* alone. Accordingly we find, that though the bishops were come, and though the army spent a whole Lent with them afterwards in the camp, no farther succours either arrived, or were expected. But at this very period, Britain must have been full of a brave soldiery, Roman or British, or both, from one side of the island to the other†. *That* however was so small, as to be baptized in *one* day by *two* bishops. Nor let us believe with Usher's reporter, in order to invalidate this objection; that it was baptized in a river‡. It was baptized in a booth erected for the purpose, as "a church is framed and wattled together with leafy "boughs." This, indeed, was a very large one, as it was "fitted up like "a city." It might well be large for the baptism of an army; yet was still a booth only. In this were all baptized that were baptized, and all upon Easter Sunday. All therefore could not be many hundreds in number. Behold then the mighty host of warriors, which all the municipes and colonies of the Romans, all the castles and towns of the Britons, the whole of Roman Britain from the Channel to the Friths, after an interval of peace and prosperity for three hundred and fifty years, could muster up in a period of many weeks for the defence of the whole island!

"Washed by baptism," adds Constantius, "the army marches "forth; faith kindles among the people; and, with contempt for the "protection of arms, the aid of the Deity is expected. In the mean "time, this institution or form of the camp is reported to the enemy;

† Hist. of Manchester, ii. 197, 200, octavo.

‡ Usher, 179: "In præter-fluente—fluviolo, sacro hôc exercitu baptizato."

"who,

" who, presuming upon victory as going to fight with an unarmed host, " hasten with additional alacrity. Yet their approach is known from the " scouts: and when, after the Easter solemnity was past, the greater " part of the army, fresh from the font, essayed to take arms and to pre- " pare for fight; Germanus offers to command them in battle. He chooses " some light-armed soldiers, he traverses the country round, and, on the " side from which the enemy's approach was expected, he beholds a " valley," &c.§. When the Britons were baptized, not all, but only the main body, were. " The greatest part of the army," we have been told before, " requested the saving waters of baptism;" and, as we are additionally told now, " the greater part of the army" was " fresh from " the font." The rest, therefore, neither desired nor received baptism. The rest, too, were not concerned in the victory afterwards; as only " the—fresh from the font essayed to take arms." What then became of the remainder? The author tells us not. They disappear from the eye, and flit away we know not whither. The baptized, however, march out of their camp, all animated with faith, all looking down with scorn upon the efficacy of earthly arms, and all relying upon the miraculous assistance of GOD. Yet this was a wild presumption, a presumption without a pretence. The enemy hear of their coming forth, and of their presumption visible in their unarmed condition. They therefore hasten to cut them in pieces, and for that purpose " approach" them. But, by some strange doubling of the author upon his own steps, it immediately appears that the Britons have not yet marched out of their camp, and that the enemy have not yet " approached" them. We are told indeed, that " the army marches forth," fired with faith, despising the protection of arms, and relying upon the assistance of GOD; that the enemy hear of

§ Constantius in Usher, 179: " 'Madidus baptismate procedit exercitus; fides fervet in " populo; et, *contempto* [in Bede, very strangely, *conterrito*] armorum præsidio, Divinitatis " expectatur auxilium. Interea hæc institutio vel forma *castrorum* [in Bede, as strangely " again, *castitatis*] hostibus nunciatur; qui, victoriam quasi de inermi exercitu præsu- " mentes, assumptâ alacritate festinant; quorum tamen adventus exploratione cognoscitur. " Cùmque, emensâ solennitate Paschali, recens de lavacro pars major exercitûs arma capere " et bellum parare tentaret; Germanus ducem se prælii profitetur eligit expeditos, circum- " jecta percurrit, et e regione quâ hostium sperabatur adventus, vallem'," &c.

their marching out, know them to be "unarmed," and "hasten with "additional alacrity" to cut them in pieces. Yet we find afterwards, that the enemy's "approach" is known only from the scouts, that *then* the Britons begin "to take arms and prepare for fight," and that therefore they are *still* within their camp. In such a wild contrariety of circumstances, is the reader beat backwards and forwards! Constantius's "unarmed" host had actually "taken arms." His soldiery, that had already marched out of the camp, and so had invited the enemy to hasten towards them, hears of *their* haste by its scouts, then takes arms, and then marches out. So little, indeed, did the Britons march forth without their arms; so little did they despise the protection of arms; and so little did they rely only on an expected aid from GOD; whatever the author says at first, in affirmance of all this; that he tells us at last, they acted just as any other army would have acted, went out with their arms in their hands, and took their ground for the battle with particular cautiousness. Their confidence in the miraculous aid of GOD, and their consequent scorn of earthly arms, end most amazingly—in their setting an ambuscade for the enemy.

Why however had not the Saxons and Picts attacked them, in all the long interval of time before? They had waited upon the Britons as these were cooped up in their camp, exposed more than these to all the severities of this winter-campaign; *while* the Britons sent for the bishops, *while* the bishops were coming to the Britons, *while* both were keeping Lent together, and *while* the main body of the army was baptized on Easter Sunday. They were unwilling to attack them assuredly, *before* the bishops had come to convert these heathens, *before* these heathens had finished their Lent with the bishops, *before* the bishops had baptized these heathens into Christians upon Easter Sunday. Even then *they* did not attack the Britons, but the Britons marched out to attack *them.* Yet the Britons act as strangely now as the Picts and Saxons acted before. They marched out to fight, but advance not towards the enemy. Earnest and eager for the battle, they loiter so much in their outset, as to hear of their enemy's "approach" before they have marched out, before, indeed, they have stood to their arms. Confident of the power of

GOD

God interposing miraculously in their favour, they march not in a brisk pace towards the enemy, they meet them not in high spirits about the midway of their approach, they "traverse the country round," and then lay an ambuscade. The enemy too were "hastening with alacrity," with "additional" or extraordinary "alacrity;" yet leave the Britons time to "choose some light-armed soldiers" to "traverse the country "round," and to lay an ambuscade in the very front of their marching column. The Picts and Saxons were encamped near enough to the Britons, to see them march out of their camp, to behold them march out unarmed; yet, in crossing the small interval of ground between them, with all their "additional alacrity," leave the Britons time to do this. So completely is the whole narration a mere chaos of agitated and shifting atoms, one atom dashing violently against another, all rearing their heads in billows of reciprocal opposition, and never to be composed into a creation by any hand but the divine!

"Germanus chooses some light-armed soldiers, traverses the country "round, on the side from which the enemy's approach was expected," as Constantius proceeds, "beholds a valley encircled with lofty hills; in "which place he draws up his new army, he himself acting as its leader. "And now came up a ferocious multitude of foes, which they saw to ap- "proach as they lay in ambuscade. Then suddenly Germanus their "standard-bearer admonishes them all, and foretells them, that they "should reply to his voice with one shout: and while the enemy were "in security, as trusting they approached unexpected; the two priests "cry out *Alleluiah*, and repeat the cry three times. One voice follows "all; and the enclosing mountains multiply the raised shout, by a re- "verberation of the air. The hostile soldiers are stunned with terror; "tremble for fear the surrounding rocks, for fear the very frame of the "sky should rush down upon them; and, in the consternation at their "hearts, believe their swiftness of foot will scarcely suffice to save them. "They fly on every side, they throw away their arms, rejoicing to have "saved their persons from the danger, at the expense of their arms. Even "several, in the precipitancy of their fear, were swallowed up by that "river which they had forded leisurely on their advance. The army un-

"hurt

" hurt beholds itself avenged, and is made the idle spectator of a victory " obtained. The spoils are collected as they lay on the ground, and the " religious soldier acquires the booty of a heavenly victory. The prelates " triumph, in a bloodless defeat of the enemy; triumph for a victory ob- " tained, not by force, but by faith. The island therefore being now " composed into a full security, and its foes, spiritual or carnal, being " subdued, as the bishops had conquered the Pelagianists and the Saxons " [and the Picts], to the grief of the whole country, they then effect " their return *." The Britons thus lay such an ambuscade as never was planned by the mind of man before. Nothing but a voice from Heaven could have recommended it; yet they take it up without such a voice. They even determine upon it before they march out of their camp. They therefore detach their light troops to find out such a place, as they were determined *should* have a miraculous victory obtained at it. These " traverse the country round" to find it, as if they were *not* acquainted with *their own country*; and at last find it *directly before their eyes*, in *the very front of their own camp*, in *the very avenue by which the foe was marching to attack them*. The ambuscade is laid, and the foe comes. He is now " a ferocious multitude" of men. The Saxons and Picts are a " multitude," yet have never assaulted the small army of the Britons

* Constantius in Usher, 179: " 'Eligit expeditos, circumjecta percurrit, et, e regione quâ " hostium sperabatur adventus, vallem circumdatam editis montibus intuetur; quo in loco " novum componit exercitum, ipse dux agminis. Et jam aderat ferox hostium multitudo, " quam appropinquare intuebantur in insidiis constituti. Cùm subitò Germanus signifer " universos admonet, et prædicit, ut voci suæ uno clamore respondeant. Securisque hosti- " bus, qui se insperatos adesse confiderent, *Alleluiah* tertiò repetitum sacerdotes exclamant. " Sequitur una vox omnium; et elevatum clamorem, repercusso aere, montium inclusa mul- " tiplicant. Hostile agmen terrore prosternitur; et ruisse super se non solùm rupes circum- " datas, verùm etiam ipsam cœli machinam, contremiscunt, trepidationique injectæ vix suf- " ficere pedum pernicitas credebatur. Passim fugiunt, arma projiciunt, quadentes vel nuda " corpora eripuisse discrimini. Plures etiam timore præcipites flumen, quod sensim venientes " transierant, devoravit. Ultionem suam innocens intuetur exercitus, et victoriæ præstitæ " otiosus spectator efficitur. Spolia colliguntur exposita, et prædam cœlestis victoriæ miles " religiosus adipiscitur. Triumphant pontifices, hostibus fusis sine sanguine; triumphant " victoriâ fide obtentâ, non viribus. Compositâ itaque—insulâ securitate multiplici, supera- " tisque hostibus vel spiritualibus vel carne conspicuis, quippe qui vicissent Pelagianistas et " Saxones [Pictosque], cum totius mœrore regionis reditum moliuntur'."

before; and a "ferocious" multitude, yet have been tamely inoffensive for so many weeks before. They come too "in security, as trusting "they approached unexpected;" those who knew of the Britons marching out of their camp unarmed, and hastened to cut them in pieces, knowing nothing of their light troops "traversing the country round," knowing nothing of their whole army taking possession of the woods in front. The Britons from their ambuscade beheld their approach, but *they* beheld not the Britons at all. *They* entered the hollow of the hills, and pushed along the line of the valley. Germanus therefore prepared to open his masked battery upon them. He had ordered his men to second his voice, and to repeat his cry. Then he and Lupus thrice repeated the wonder-working word *Alleluiah*. The whole army repeats it after them. The enclosing hills reverberate the sound. The Picts and Saxons are struck with consternation; fear they shall all be instantly crushed, by the rocks on their sides, or by the sky over their heads; throw down their arms, and fly.

Such is this miraculous victory, in all its circumstances! It is plainly, I *must* say,

> An idiot's tale, told with sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.

It is absurd in its parts; it is absurd in the whole; and the internal evidence is strong, vigorous, irresistible against it.

SECTION II.

Yet internal evidence is often delusive. Let us therefore examine the external, and see whether this bears equally hard upon it.

"In the county of Flint," says Usher, the first who attempted to ascertain the scene of this memorable victory *, "near the town which

* Except that trifler, as I was ready to call him from report, or, as I ought to call him, that writer of whom I know not and wish not to know any thing, Polydore Virgil. "Non "ad Trentam fluvium," says Usher, 179, "prout conjecturâ auguratus est Polydorus."

"is

" is denominated MOLD by the English and *Guid-cruc* by the Welsh, is " this battle *reported* to have been fought, and the place to have retained " from it, even to the present day, the name of MAES GARMON, which " signifies *the Plain of Germanus*; this holy army being baptized in the " little river Alen, that flows along one side of it †." To whom Usher here refers as his reporter, is not told, and can only be conjectured. Whoever he was, his report was not worth the reference. The Britons are said by him to have been baptized in the river Allen, which flows along one side of the place; when we know them to have been baptized in a large booth. Nor *could* the Britons have been baptized in the Allen, if the Allen be the rivulet which the Picts and Saxons crossed, as they advanced, and in which some of them were drowned as they fled back; because the Allen must then have been at some distance, in front of the Britons. This river runs about a mile to the north-west of Mold, is there crossed now in the road from Wrexham to Holywell by a bridge, but was formerly crossed by a ford; and has upon its nearer or south-eastern bank the very field, to which Usher points as denominated Maes Garmon ‡. On this field has been recently built an obelisk, by a gentleman curious concerning any incidents relative to the history of the region, but without any evidence from tradition, as no tradition of a battle there exists in any part of the neighbourhood, and without any documents in writing, as his nephew, who now possesses his estate, knows of none. He built it merely, as the inscription upon the obelisk witnesses, by the very words of Usher's Constantius, and of Usher himself, adopted through the whole; on what would naturally be thought by a person so adopting and so curious, the infallible authority of Usher. Thus one of this gentleman's family, I suspect, first communicated his intelligence of the name, with his conjecture of the battle, in an excursion of Usher's out of Ireland by Holywell and Wrexham into England; as, in the re-

† Usher, 179: " In agro Flintensi, juxta oppidum quod Angli *Mold*, Cambro-Britanni " *Guid-cruc* appellant, hoc gestum aiunt; indeque locum *Maes Garmon*, quod Campum " Germani sonat, hucusque nomen retinuisse; in præter-fluente Aleno fluviolo, sacro " hôc exercitu baptizato."

‡ Gough's Britannia, ii. 596; Owen's Ogilby Improved (1764), p. 267; and private information from a very obliging clergyman in the neighbourhood.

operation of that intelligence or that conjecture from Usher again, another of them erected an obelisk §.

But the whole was a delusion, in Usher and his reporter; a delusion, resulting solely from the solitary circumstance of the *name*. Yet the name was so obscure in itself, even so unaccompanied by any tradition, that till Usher called it into notice by fixing this battle at the place, it was all unknown; and, even since Usher did this, has engaged little notice before the obelisk was erected. Leland takes no notice of it. Camden takes none. Lhuyd too, who so judiciously corrected and so usefully enlarged Camden's account of Wales, heard as little of it as either of them. He inserted, indeed, a mention of the name, with an application of it to the victory, in his additions; but inserted them only, in an express reference to the opinion of Usher about them. "Near this town," he says concerning Mold, "*as the learned Usher supposes*, was that cele-"brated victory which he calls Victoria Alleluiatica—; *adding*, that in "memory of that miraculous victory, the place is called at this day *Maes* "*Garmon* ‖." This is all which a native of Wales, a native of North-

§ The inscription is this: "A. D. CCCCXX," an error, Usher, p. 516, placing it in 430, "Saxones Pictique bellum adversus Britones junctis viribus susceperunt," the very words of Constantius in Usher 179, "in hâc regione hodieque Maes-garmon appellatâ," the inscriber's own words, and faulty, as denominating a field, a region, "cum in prælium de-"scenditur," the inscriber's words again, "sub apostolicis ducibus Germano et Lupo "Christus militabat in castris," the words of Constantius; "Alleluja tertiò repeti-"tum exclamabant," the words of Constantius again, "hostile agmen terrore proster-"nitur," Constantius's words again, "triumphant hostibus fusis sine sanguine," the words of Constantius again, "palmâ," *victoriâ* in Constantius, "fide non viribus obtentâ," the very words of Constantius once more; "MP in *Victoriæ Alleluiaticæ*," an appellation formed by Usher and peculiar to him (179 and 180), "memoriam N. G.," Nehemiah Griffiths, "MDCCXXXVI." Mr. Griffiths has thus transcribed his account of the battle literally from Constantius, has only put in some supplementary words *de proprio penu*, and has even taken Usher's very appellation of the victory for his own: and I suppose a former owner of the ground to have given the information to Usher; as I find, that he who erected the obelisk inherited the estate of Rhual, of which this field is a part, from "Robert Ed-"wardes a gentylman [who] dwellith," says Leland in Itin. v. 37, "at . . . . . [Rhual, "I suppose] on the side of Alen yn Molesdale, having plenty of wood and goodly medow by "Alen side,"

‖ Gibson's Camden, 826.

Wales,

Wales, one peculiarly inquisitive and sagacious concerning the historical antiquities of his country, says upon the subject; knowing no more, than what Usher had told him. So insignificant was the name in itself! And the very obelisk, by the very tenour of the inscription upon it, all borrowed in terms from Usher, but neither in Usher, nor in its copy of him, hinting at any authority higher than mere supposition; proves no tradition of this battle to have existed at the field, when Mr. Griffiths erected that obelisk on it, or even when Usher pitched upon it as the scene of this battle.

Nor does the field in any manner correspond with the battle. The ground of this was a small, long, narrow valley, enclosed by two ranges of lofty hills at the sides, traversed by a road from end to end, and having a rivulet across the mouth of it, capable of "swallowing up", precipitate forders. But the place pitched upon for it, is only in general a level range of ground, intersected by the Allen, and only in particular a single field, upon the very bank of the Allen. "Mold," says our Welsh traveller, himself equally Welsh with his subject, "consists prin-"cipally of one broad and handsome street, *on a gentle rising in the midst* "*of a small* but rich *plain*. The church is placed on an eminence.—At "the north end of the town stands the mount, to which it owes the "British and Latin names, *Yr Wyddgrug* and *Mons Altus*.—About a "mile west of the town [I] visited *Maes Garmon*," &c.*. The ground from Mold to the field, we thus see, is all a plain in general; and is therefore sunk into no valley in the middle, ridged up into no hills at the sides, and waving with no woods upon the latter over the former. The field too is itself a perfect level, I find from inquiry, five or six acres in extent. The river of it likewise, I equally find, is very shallow in its waters, having the ford *Rhyd-goli*, or the Clear, the Evident Ford, across it, and being therefore incapable of "swallowing up" any forders, however precipitate. Such ground as this does reason proclaim in her loudest note, can never be the place of such an action as that. There

* Pennant's Tour in North Wales, i. 419, 423, 437; the author still retaining that *tradesman's token*, of writing without a nominative case to his verb.

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is not a single feature of similarity between the historical and the antiquarian ground of battle; they are as opposite as nature can possibly make them. The valley is all filled up, the hills are all pulled down, and the river is all transposed by the meddling hand of art. Nor could Germanus, if he was to visit his own place of ambuscade again, ever recognise it under its new form. The fact is, that this spot was selected for the place of the battle by that infantine imbecility of intellect, which took no pains to assimilate the scene to the story, which never presumed indeed to think of this necessary operation, and was fondly, credulously, implicitly,

Led by the foolish tinklings of a *name*.

Nor should Usher have suffered himself to be deluded by such a reporter. He should have been startled at his application of the name to the history, instantly on his assertion that "the army was baptized in the "little river Alen;" an assertion, so contradictory to the narrative. But he should have been driven away as with a whirlwind from the whole, by his explanation of the name; so contradictory to the very operations themselves. *Maes Garmon* signifies not what Lhuyd, and Mr. Gough from him, renders the name, "St. German's Field," as "in memory of "that miraculous victory;" even though the margin adds, "*Maes* in the "names of places *sometimes* implies more particularly, that battles have "been fought there,—vide Anglesey *." The Welsh and the Bretoons indeed do *sometimes* use the word *Maes* in this signification, as *we* equally use the word *Field*, yet always with some addition to mark it for a field of battle; as, in the very name to which Lhuyd refers us within the isle of Anglesey, we have *Kae y Maes Mawr*, which "implies some great battle "fought here," as it is literally *the Field of the great Fight*, in English †. But the general and the natural meaning of the word among the Bretoons or the Welsh, was and is the same as that of *Magh* in Irish, the same word with a little variation, a Plain or a Level Ground. In this sense the name corresponds exactly with the site, but is totally disconformable to the scene: and, as the very presenter of the name to Usher

* Gibson's Camden, 826; and Gough's, ii. 596. † Gibson, 810.

became the explainer of it to him, the presenter was so struck with the correspondency of the name, yet so inattentive to the disconformity of the scene, that though he rendered the name in the dubious manner of Lhuyd, a mere *Plain*, yet with Lhuyd again he boldly interpreted it at once into *a Plain of Battle*. There "is *this battle* reported *to have* "*been fought*," as Usher cites him reporting, "and the place to have re-"tained *from it*, even to the present day, the name of *Maes Garmon*, "which signifies the PLAIN of Germanus *." By this single stroke the reporter should have awakened Usher from his dream of antiquarianism, and forced him to reflect for one moment upon the incompetency of a *plain* for his victory, upon the dissonance of the *name* to the narrative, upon the contradiction in the *localities* to the facts. Usher would thus have resigned up the appellation for ever, to unite itself no longer with history, to stand only the title of a common field, to indicate only the *site* of a *chapel* probably, dedicated once to St. German, and existing so late, perhaps, as the very days of Leland †.

The field has lent its name to a farm of sixty-four acres that nearly surrounds it, yet is totally distinct from it. The former belongs to Mr. Griffiths, but the latter to the lord of the manor. This circumstance corroborates my supposition, that the field was once the site of a chapel, dedicated like the adjoining church of Llan-armon to our own saint, Germanus. Upon the whole, therefore, from the full contrariety of the scene to the story, the obelisk overlooking a plain instead of a valley, and rising from the area of a level field instead of the ridges of two parallel hills, that monument stands the witness of its own falsity; records a victory in its inscription, which it denies in the very aspect of the ground about; proclaims a battle to have been fought upon the field, while the field protests against the proclamation from every feature of its face; and thus,

Like a tall bully, lifts its head, and lies.

* Usher, 179: "Maes Garmon, quod Campum Germani sonat." *Maes* is ordinarily used for a *field* in general by the Welsh of this day.

† Leland's Itin. v. 37: "There longe 3 chapelles onto it," the parish of Mold. Only two of the three exist at present, Nerquis and Tryddyn (Liber Regis). The third probably was here.

"It

"It is to be considered," adds Usher, however, endeavouring to bring up an accession of strength to his cause, yet doubtful of his power, and fearful of a failure, "whether this victory is not also alluded to in that "passage of Gregory's writings: 'The omnipotent God, while the "clouds were brightened over with light, hath burst the gates of the "sea; because,' by the illustrious miracles of the preachers, he hath "brought even the ends of the world over to the faith. For behold! "he hath now penetrated the hearts of almost all nations; behold! he "hath united the limits of the East and West in one faith. Behold! "the language of Britain, which knew only how to grunt its barbarous "tones, hath long begun to sound the Hebrew *Alleluiah* in the praises "of God. Behold! the ocean, formerly swelling, is now reduced into "service under the feet of the saints; and its barbarous movements, "which the princes of the earth could not subdue with the sword, are "tied up through the fear of God by mere words from the lips of the "priests; and he, who in his state of infidelity never dreaded the troops "of the warriors, in his state of belief now fears the tongues of the "humble. For as, by the hearing of the words of Heaven, and by "the bright shining of miracles, the virtue of divine knowledge is in-"fused into him; by the terror of the same Deity he is so reined "in, that he is afraid to do ill, and wishes with all the desires of his "heart to attain a gracious eternity'*." These rhetorical words, it seems, have been applied by Bede, by Johannes Diaconus the old

* Usher, 179, 180: "Videndum, annon huc etiam spectat illud Gregorii. 'Omnipo-"tens enim Deus, coruscantibus nubibus, cardines maris operuit; quia, emicantibus præ-"dicatorum miraculis, ad fidem etiam terminos mundi perduxit. Ecce enim! penè cunc-"tarum jam gentium corda penetravit; ecce, in unâ fide orientis limitem occidentisque con-"juxit. Ecce! lingua Britanniæ, quæ nil alium noverat quam barbarum frendere, jamdu-"dum in divinis laudibus Hebræum cœpit *Alleluia* resonare. Ecce! quondam tumidus, "jam sanctorum pedibus substratus, servit oceanus; ejusque barbaros motus, quos terreni "principes edomare ferro nequiverant, hos, pro divinâ formidine, sacerdotum ora simplici-"bus verbis ligant; et qui catervas pugnantium infidelis nunquam metuerat, jam nunc "fidelis humilium linguas timet. Quia enim, perceptis cœlestibus verbis, clarescentibus "quoque miraculis, virtus ei divinæ cognitionis infunditur; ejusdem divinitatis terrore re-"frænatur, ut pravè agere metuat, ac totis desideriis ad æternitatis gratiam pervenire con-"cupiscat'."

biographer

biographer of Gregory, and by Aimoinus the old historian of the Franks, to the *conversion* of the *Saxons* in Britain; but Usher sufficiently exposes the absurdity of the application, by noting that very writing of Gregory's, in which the words are found, to have been *published* in 591, *some years antecedent* to Augustine's *arrival* from Gregory, for the conversion of the Saxons*. Smith too, in his annotations upon Bede, has very properly added to the decisive remark; by observing one of the terms in the main clause of all, "long since," to point at an event of a much older date†. Yet neither the main nor any other clause, has the slightest reference to that victory. This is apparent at once, from the face of the whole. The whole alludes to one event; not a slight, a private, a transitory fact, but a fact permanent, general, and important; not the occasional victory of a small party of Britons over a petty host of Picts and Saxons, but the grand victory of the Gospel over the Britons themselves. "The omnipotent GOD," says Gregory "—hath burst the gates of the sea,—hath brought even the ends "of the world over to the faith,—hath—penetrated the hearts of almost "all nations,—hath united the limits of the East and West in one "faith." This speaks in the plainest language of the general predominancy of the Gospel among the nations of the earth. Gregory then comes to a *particular* nation, that of the Britons; as one, that by its remoteness and its insularity peculiarly corroborated this general assertion.

* Usher, 180: "Etsi—ad gentis Anglorum conversionem a Bedâ (Histor. lib. ii. cap. i.), "et Johanne Diacono (Vit. Gregor. lib. ii. cap. 39), et Aimoino (De Gest. Francor. lib. iii. "cap. 74), ista trahi non ignorem; quo minùs tamen ad illorum accedam sententiam, vel "illud me cohibet, quòd, ante missum ad Anglos Augustinum, expositionem Jobi a Gre-"gorio (Regest. lib. i. epist. 41, indict. 9, ann. 591, et lib. iv. epist. 46, indict. 13, ann. "595) editam fuisse animadverterim."

† Smith at Bede, 120: "Hoc," this passage in Gregory, "Beda ad Anglorum conversionem retulit, ii. 1, et post eum J. Diaconus in Vitâ Gregorii [et Aimoinus]; non observato; quòd liber ille scriptus erat ante Anglorum conversionem, ac proinde hæc verba "Gregorii prælium hujus capitis," the battle with the Saxons and Picts, "ejusque alleluia," "[minimè] respexerunt," Smith thus setting his feet in the very steps of Usher; "præsertim, "cùm id ut *jamdudum factum* prædicet." The omission of the principal word in Smith's sentence above, is very remarkable; as it sets the face of the whole directly contrary to the author's intention.

"The language of Britain," he remarks, "which knew only how to "grunt its barbarous tones, hath LONG SINCE begun to sound the He-"brew Alleluiah in *the praises of God.*" So much higher set was the rhetoric of Gregory, than to glance at a slight incident in a provincial history! The lightning of heaven streams in one of its flashes across the whole compass of the sky. The eagle of heaven sweeps, in one of its flights, along the whole extent of the horizon. The soul of Gregory was mounted upon the wing of an eagle, and rode upon a beam of the lightning, when he composed the passage above. Yet Usher attempted to confine the lightning within a little closet, and to thrust the eagle into a child's cage; when he endeavoured to lower the lofty passage into an allusion to his humble victory. Gregory, in truth, thought as little of the battle in Flintshire, as St. Jerome, who lived long before it, thought, when he spoke of Christian churches at Rome in similar language, and thus expressed himself concerning the similar worship of GOD in them: "the psalms resounded, and *alleluiahs*, echoing on high, "shook the gilded ceilings of the temples‡."

Yet, as error, once floated, spreads in a circle over all the surface of a still water, by not merely extending its own ring, but by generating other rings of a *weaker* kind; "Gildas, a British author, who wrote in "the sixth century," adds Mr. Carte, moving in the circle generated by Usher's, "alludes to this victory as *obtained by the blessing of God, with-*"*out any human assistance;* which sufficiently appears from the cir-"cumstances of the relation§." The passage in Gildas, to which Mr. Carte refers, is said to be in "Epist. n. 17, 18," and is actually in *Hist.* c. xviii. But the passage has no more connexion with the Alleluiah victory, than it hath with the battle of Pharsalia, or the engagement off Actium. It speaks, indeed, of a victory, but one totally different from Germanus's. Gildas, in a preceding part of his history, notices what he calls "the first devastation;" when "Britain, being trampled down for

‡ Hieronymi Opera, i. 130, Franc. et Lips. 1684: "Sonabant psalmi; et aurata tecta "templorum, reboans in sublime, quatiebat *alleluia.*"

§ Carte, i. 182, 183.

" the first time by two transmarine nations outrageously cruel, by the " Scots from the north-west, by the Picts from the north, lies for many " years stunned and groaning*." He afterwards notices " the second " devastation," when " those former enemies" again carry destruction through the country†. He then comes to " the third devastation," in which " the black bands of Scots and Picts" again ravage the country‡. He finally goes on in his xviiith chapter, to speak " of the victory;" and subjoins thus: " then first they [the Britons] made a slaughter among " the enemy,—trusting not in man but in GOD, according to that ex- " ample in Philo, *the divine aid becomes necessary when human assistance* " *fails*. The audaciousness of the enemy was repressed—, the enemy " retired out of the country§." This victory, therefore, had nothing miraculous in it, and is expressly ascribed by the author to the exertions of the Britons. These " made a slaughter among the enemy;" not standing like the Britons of Germanus, " the idle spectators of a victory " obtained," but wielding their weapons to obtain it, and dealing destruction around them in obtaining it. Nor were the Britons of Gildas engaged, like the Britons of Constantius, against Picts and *Saxons*, but against Picts and *Scots*. So very different in the nations opposed, and in the battle fought, is the victory of Constantius from the victory of Gildas; that the one has scarce any similarity with the other!

" In Constantius's narration of the Alleluiah victory," subjoins Usher, to all, willing to remove every objection if he can, and to lend his fable the full credibility of truth, " is a difficulty yet remaining to be explained; " *how* the *Saxons* are here introduced warring with the Britons, *when* " their arrival in the island seems *posterior in time* to the legation of

* Gildas, c. xi.: " *De primâ vastatione.*—Britannia,—duabus primùm gentibus transma- " rinis vehementer sævis, Scotorum a Circione, Pictorum ab Aquilone, calcabilis, multos " stupet gemitque per annos."

† Gildas, c. xiii.: " *De secundâ vastatione.*—Illi priores inimici," &c.

‡ Gildas, c. xv.: " *De tertiâ vastatione.*—Tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges," &c.

§ C. xviii.: " *De victoriâ.* Et tum primùm inimicis—strages dabant non confidentes in " homine sed in Deo, secundùm illud exemplum Philonis, *necesse est adesse divinum ubi* " *humanum cessat auxilium.* Quievit parumper inimicorum audacia,—recesserunt hostes a " civibus."

" Germanus. This knot Matthew of Westminster and Carolus Sigo-
" nius *cut in two*, because they could not *untie* it; substituting the word
" *Scots* for *Saxons* in the history. Bede, Paulus Diaconus, and Frecul-
" phus, deserting the calculations of Prosper in ascertaining the time of
" Germanus's legation, stated this victory to have been obtained in the
" reign of the emperor Marcian, *after* the *arrival* of the *Angles*. On the
" contrary, Camden, peculiarly learned in the antiquities of his country,
" has retained the chronology of Prosper for the first expedition of Ger-
" manus, but from Nennius's interpolator throws the arrival of the
" Angles into *the year immediately preceding*; here neglecting the senti-
" ments of Bede, and of all the Anglo-Saxon writers, concerning the time
" of their own arrival. But we have a very easy opening without these
" windings, if we consider that the Saxons had been used to invade
" Britain frequently, *long before the arrival of Hengist here*. For in the
" beginning of the reign of Valentinian the 1st, as we are informed by
" Ammianus Marcellinus, the Saxons, no less than the Picts and Scots,
" distressed the Britons continually with their ravages; and Claudian
" introduces Britain in the reign of Honorius, thus singing concerning
" Stilicho,

" Through him no more the Scottish sword I fear,
" No more I tremble at the Pictish spear,
" No more I shrink to see the SAXON sails
" Crowd all my shores, and wave in all my gales.

" And the *Notitia Imperii* shews us, that *a count of* the SAXON shore
" *in Britain* was appointed, for the defence of the island from their
" ravages*." Such difficulties have always occurred to the examining mind,

* Usher, 180, 181: " In Constantii de Alleluiatico illo triumpho narratione, difficultas
" adhuc explicanda superest, quâ ratione Saxones cum Britonibus belligerantes hìc indu-
" cantur, quum eorum in insulam adventus Germani legatione tempore videatur fuisse
" posterior. Eum nodum Matthæus Florilegus (Flor. Histor. ann. 448), et Carolus Sigo-
" nius (de Occidental. Imper. lib. 12, ann. 429), cùm solvere non potuissent, dissecuerunt;
" *Scotorum* pro *Saxonum* in historiâ substituto vocabulo. Beda (in lib. de Sex Ætatib.),
" Paulus Diaconus (in Addit. ad Eutrop. lib. 15), et Freculphus (Chronic. tom. 2, lib. 5,
" cap. 16), a Prosperi rationibus in tempore legationis Germani designando recedentes, post
" adventum Anglorum sub Marciano imperatore victoriam hanc partam fuisse statuerunt.
" Antiquitatum patriarum scientissimus Camdenus contrà (Britan. p. 95), in primâ Ger-
" mani

mind, in attempting to reconcile the battle of Constantius with the known history of the times. All but Usher referred it, as common sense required they should refer it, to a period *posterior* to the arrival of the Saxons; only differing concerning the very year of that arrival. Yet all who dated it *after* the Saxon arrival, whatever common sense might suggest in their favour, were certainly not right; and Usher, who has noticed their opinions without refuting them, who yet has advanced a different opinion of his own, is as certainly wrong. The battle of Constantius thus seems to be neither posterior nor prior to the Saxon arrival; and is, however paradoxical the assertion may seem, actually neither.

That it could not be posterior, two or three reasons will sufficiently prove. Germanus and his associate could not have sailed from France to Britain, as they really sailed, if the Saxons *were already here.* Those very prelates to whom Constantius ascribes the Alleluiah victory, "enter "the ocean," as Bede tells us; "and even to the middle *of the passage* "by *which* you *cross* from *the Gallic bay into Britain,* the vessel flew "safe with prosperous gales." Then a storm comes on; but "a serene "tranquillity ensues, the contrary winds return to minister to the voy- "age, and, having run over the sea in a short time, they enjoy the "peace of *their wished-for shore**." They thus embarked at the usual port

"mani profectione Prosperi chronologiâ retentâ, ex Ninii interpolatore Anglorum adventum "in annum proximè præcedentem conjicit; Bædæ et Anglo-Saxonicorum omnium scripto- "rum de sui adventûs tempore sententiâ hìc neglectâ. Sed absque istis diverticulis facillimus "patebit exitus, si consideraverimus, longè priùs quàm appulisset hìc Hengistus, frequenter "Saxonas irrumpere consuevisse in Britanniam. Nam in principio imperii Valentiniani I. "Saxonas, non minùs quàm Pictos et Scotos, Britannos ærumnis vexavisse continuis, auctor "est Ammianus Marcellinus (Histor. lib. 26); et sub Honorio Aug. de Stilichone ita canen- "tem introducit Claudianus Britanniam,

Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.

"Et, ad insulam ab eorum impetu defendendam, institutum fuisse *comitem littoris Saxonici* "*per Britanniam,* Notitia Imperii indicat."

* Bede, i. 17: "Germanus—et Lupus—intrant oceanum, et usque ad medium itineris, "quo a Gallico sinu Britannias usque tenditur, secundis flatibus navis tuta volabat.—Tran- "quillitas

port in France, and landed at the usual port in Britain. What then were these? Bede himself shall tell us: as "Britain," he says, "has "Belgic Gaule on the south, *the nearest shore* of which is opened to "*passengers from the city called Portus Rutupis*, by the English now "corrupted into Repta-caestir," or Richborough near Sandwich; "the "sea interposing between it and *Gessoriacum*," or Boulogne, "*the near-* "*est shore* of the nation of the Morini," in Gaule†. But if the Saxons had been *then* arrived in Britain, and hostilities had been *then* commenced by them against the Britons; the port of Richborough must have been shut up to these, or any other, passengers from France. The Saxons were fixed at the very first, and before these auxiliaries of the Britons became the invaders of Britain, on that very isle of Thanet, which formed the harbour of Richborough, by presenting an opening for it between itself and the mainland of Britain. "The nation of the Angles, "or Saxons," as Bede himself informs us again, "being invited by the "king aforesaid, is brought into Britain in three gallies, and, by the "command of the same king, takes up its residence *at the eastern part of* "*the island*‡." But, as Nennius writes more explicitly, "there came "three *keels* [or *gallies*] driven into banishment from Germany, in which "were Hors and Hengist;—Vortigern received them kindly, and *deli-* "*vered to them the island* which in *their* [he should have said, *in their* "*and our*] language is denominated *Taneth*§." This island thus became

"quillitas serena subsequitur, venti e contrario ad itineris ministeria revertuntur, decursio- "que brevi spatiis pelagi, optatâ litoris quiete potiuntur."

† Bede, i. 1: "Habet a meridie Galliam Belgicam, cujus proximum litus transmeanti- "bus aperit civitas quæ dicitur Rutubi Portus, a gente Anglorum nunc corruptè Repta- "caestir vocata, interposito mari a Gessoriaco, Morinorum gentis litore proximo."

‡ Bede, i. 15: "Anglorum sive Saxonum gens, invitata a rege præfato, tribus longis "navibus Britanniam advehitur, et in orientali parte insulæ, jubente eôdem rege, locum "manendi—suscipit."

§ Nennius, c. 28: "Interea venerunt tres chiulæ, a Germaniâ in exilio pulsæ, in quibus "erant Hors et Hengist;—Gortigernus autem suscepit eos benignè, et tradidit eis insulam "quæ linguâ eorum vocatur Taneth." M. Westm. 394, interpreta "chiula" to be a gal- ley, "longas naves quas cuylas sive galcias appellant." The Saxon language has still *ceol*, a *ship*, and *cœle*, a *keel*. Yet *keel* is still retained for a *ship* at Newcastle upon Tyne, though from M. Westm. alone we know the precise import of it as a *galley* at first. Bede's expression

came the point, from which they afterwards prosecuted their invasion of Britain †. The harbour of Richborough, therefore, was possessed, at that period, by the vessels of the Saxons; and all intercourse between France and Britain, at that grand port of passage into the latter, must have been totally precluded to those French prelates. To shew this in the most striking view, I will notice an incident of history, much later in time, and consequently more emphatical in import. After the Saxons of Kent, and the Saxons of many other parts of Britain, had been brought within the pale of humanity and the Gospel; Wilfrid, a Saxon bishop of the new Christians, was returning from France into Britain. He steered for the old port of passage in Britain, Richborough, the town of which had now descended from the hill of the castle, had settled on the very sands of the sea, and was therefore beginning to be denominated as it is now, Sandwich ‡; but was driven upon the coast of Sussex, then addicted equally as it was of late to the plundering of wrecks, then addicted tenfold more, as not restrained by the civilizing genius of Christianity. The Saxons of Sussex were not converted yet, but left to the operations of their own heathen spirit, and to the heathen consideration of a state of nature being a state of hostility in man to man. Such was the influence of this consideration, and of that spirit in Sussex then, that the chaplain and biographer of the bishop speaks of the coast, just as we should speak of the Moorish shore of Africa at present. "The south-east wind blowing hard," he says, "the whiten-" ing heads of the waves threw them upon the region of the South-" Saxons, *with which they were unacquainted.*—But the *Gentiles*, coming

expression of "longas naves" for what Nennius calls "chiulæ," indeed, might have suggested to us before, and does confirm at present, M. Westminster's interpretation. But how comes Nennius, a Briton, to use the Saxon term; and Bede, a Saxon, the Roman one? The name *galley* itself comes evidently to us and to the French, from the Italians and their *galea*; a different word from *galea*, a helmet in Latin, and accented, even spelled, differently, as in this line of M. Paris (p. 530):

In terris *galeas* in aquis formido *galeias*.

† Nennius, c. 46.

‡ Eddius's Vita Wilfridi, c. xiii. in Gale, i. 58: "Portum Sandwich;" the first mention of it under that name, in all our history.

"down

" down with a very great army, resolved without delay to *seize* the *ship*, " to *divide* the *money* as *plunder* among themselves, to *carry off* as " *slaves* those who *yielded*, and to *slay with the sword* those who *re-* " *sisted* §." Yet these were countrymen to the bishop and the crew, these were near neighbours to the new Christians. What then would not the Saxon *pirates* have done, all equally in the ferocity of nature, less civilized from the very business of their lives, and more barbarous from their very banishment, as the outcasts of society, as the provoked enemies of all mankind; to the stranger bishops, and to the stranger Christians, coming from France into *their* harbour, and anchoring near to *their* vessels? They would certainly have seized, and probably have murdered them immediately.

Had indeed the Saxon invasion then commenced, the whole region of Roman Britain must have been in too violent an agitation of spirits, too much inflamed with a high and raging fever in its veins; ever to have invited the prelates into it. The Pelagian heresy would have been considered as an evil much less formidable in its nature, and much less pressing in its encroachments, than the Saxon invasion. The controversies of theology would have been resigned up, to a period of peace and leisure. All thoughts, all exertions would have been employed, in preparing for the new war, in preventing the ruin of all Britain, in precluding the destruction of all Christianity.

So incompatible is the very victory, said to be obtained by the bishops over the invading Saxons, with the very coming of the bishops into Britain! But if, with Bede, we fix the arrival of the Saxons in the year 449 *; the Saxon invasion necessarily ranking still later in time, and

§ Eddius, c. xiii.: " Navigantibus—eis de Gallià Britannicum mare,—flante—vento " euro-austro durè, albescentia undarum culmina in regionem Australium Saxonum, quam " non noverant, projecerunt eos.—Gentiles autem, cum ingenti exercitu venientes, navem " arripere prædam ibi pecuniæ dividere, captivos subjugatos deducere, resistentesque gladio " occidere, incunctanter proposuerunt." Wilfrid and his men however escaped, pushed off to sea, and gained their port, " prosperè in portum Sandwich atque suaviter pervenerunt."

* Bede, i. 15.

Germanus

Germanus dying in 448 †, this good bishop must have fought the battle and won the victory, *one year at least after he was dead* ‡. The victory and the battle, therefore, if at all real, could not possibly have happened *posterior* to the general invasion of the Saxons §.

Usher accordingly had recourse to a new hypothesis, which is not exposed to these invincible objections, which has gained an universal acquiescence ever since, and has actually carried the narration of Constantius into our national history. Yet this hypothesis lies open to similar objections, and is just as untenable as the other. That the narration refers to a period, when the Saxons were hostile and invasive; is apparent upon the very front of it. But that it also refers to a period much prior to the general invasion by the Saxons; is equally apparent. The narration forms a part of that history, which relates *not* to the *second* expedition of Germanus, *but* to the *first;* which recites the incidents that arose during the legation, *not* of Germanus and *Severus*, but of Germanus and *Lupus* ‖, which therefore speaks of events that happened, not so late as even 447, but so early as 429-430 *. The Saxons of Constantius then must be, what Usher states them to be, some Saxons that existed in the island many years prior to the general invasion; if they ever existed in it at all. But they never existed; nor is it

† Usher, 204, 205.

‡ Lhuyd in Gibson, 826, says thus: "Whereas it may be objected, that seeing it is "allowed St. German dyed in the year 435, it was impossible he should lead the Britons in "this island against the Saxons, for that Hengist and Horsa arrived not here till 449; he "[Usher] answers," &c. Lhuyd thus, by a mistake of memory, confounds Camden's chronology with Usher's, and substitutes that very chronology in Camden which Usher refutes, for the very chronology which Usher proposes himself.

§ We naturally think with Usher, 180, that "Bede, and all the Anglo-Saxon writers" are the properest judges "of *their own* arrival in Britain;" if we do not reflect, that the computation of time from the Christian æra was not begun by *any* before 525, that it was not adopted by *many* till one or two centuries afterward, and that therefore various errors must necessarily have arisen, in the retrospective application of it to events.

‖ Usher, 179: "Victoriam Alleluiaticam Germano et Lupo ducibus—obtentam." See also Bede, i. 17-20.

* Usher, 175.

in the power of Usher to exert a kind of Promethean art; and to lend life to these mere statues fabricated by Constantius's hand.

The Saxons undoubtedly harassed the shore of Britain, before they took up their residence in Thanet. Yet they harassed it not, as Usher makes Marcellinus to say they did, "continually," and "no less than the "Scots and Picts," even "in the beginning of the reign of Valen-"tinian I.;" because, what Marcellinus says of the Saxons *then*, what he says of the Saxons *at any other time*, has NO REFERENCE TO THE ISLAND, but is ALL CONFINED TO THE CONTINENT †. The Saxon descents upon BRITAIN did not BEGIN as early, as even the close of Marcellinus's history, the year 378 ‡. So very unfortunate is Usher, in his first reference to history! So long has Marcellinus been repeated from him to say, what Marcellinus never says! So carelessly have the references of this truly great man in historical criticism, been echoed from mouth to mouth, and transmitted from pen to pen, without one examination through the course of a century and a half!

Even *when* the Saxon invasions began upon our shores, even *when* they were prosecuted in their utmost violence, they were not prosecuted, as Claudian in the laxity of poetical language insinuates they were, upon *every* part of the shore. They harassed only *one* part of it, and this not on the *western* or Welsh side of the isle, but on the contrary or *eastern*; not even upon the eastern along the *whole* range of the shore, at *any* point towards the *north*, at *any* about the *middle*, but at the *lower end* of all *to the south*, at the *grand bend of the isle on the south-east*. This is

† Usher, 181, cites "Ammian. Histor. lib. 26," but means lib. 27, where, in p. 494 (Paris, 1681), he notices the Saxons, the Picts, and the Scots, for the *first* time; where he harasses the *Britons* with the *Scots* and *Picts*, but the *Gauls* with the *Saxons*: "Picti,—"et Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur; *Gallicanos verò tractus* Franci et "*Saxones*, iisdem confines,—violabant." The mention of the Saxons in lib. 28, p. 522, is merely allusive; "quam ob causam præ ceteris hostibus Saxones timentur, ut repentini." The only other mention in Marcellinus, is at p. 536, 537; where the scene is equally in *Gaule*, as the final feat was in Germany, "in ipsis Francorum finibus," says Orosius in a note here.

‡ Marcellinus, lib. xxxi. p. 655.

plain

plain from the very fact alleged for his own purpose by Usher, the Roman appointment "of a count of the Saxon shore in Britain." Where this count's jurisdiction lay in Britain, and how far it extended along the coast of Britain, we know with the greatest precison from the very "Notitia Imperii," alleged by Usher. "Under the disposition," says this record, "of that dignified officer, the count of the Saxon shore "in Britain," are troops at these forts specified; "Othona" or Ithancester near Maldon in Essex, at "Dubris" or Dover, at "Lemannis" or Limne near Hythe, at "Brannodunum" or Brancaster in the north of Norfolk, at "Gariannonum" or Caster on the Yare in the south of it, at "Regulbium" or Reculver in Kent, at "Rutupis" or Richborough in Kent, at "Anderida," I know not what place in Sussex, and at "Portus Adurni" or Aldrington near Shoreham in Sussex §. Thus we find *the Saxon shore of Britain* to have been all confined between Aldrington in Sussex, and Brancaster in Norfolk. So little did it extend into North-Wales, as Usher has extended it; that it reached only a few miles, upon either side of the South Foreland! Accordingly, when the Saxons appeared for the last time off the shore of Britain, and from intended invaders became hired auxiliaries; they were then at this very angle of the island, were landed on the isle of Thanet, and from the isle of Thanet marched into the interiors of the country. All assistance, therefore, in support of Constantius's narrative, as derived from the existence of a Saxon shore prior to the general invasion by the Saxons; is merely the vision of a dream, a ghost that glides before the

§ Pancirollus, fol. 161: "Sub dispositione viri spectabilis, comitis litoris Saxonici per "Britanniam. Præpositus—Othonæ. Præpositus—Dubris. Præpositus—Lemannis. Præ- "positus—Brannodunesis Brannoduno. Præpositus—Gariannonensis Gariannono. Tri- "bunus—Regulbio. Præpositus—Rutupis. Præpositus—Anderidæ. Præpositus—Portu "Adurni." For appropriating these ancient names to modern places, see Camden, 247, Somner's Roman Forts and Ports in Kent, 103-106; Horsley, 488; Ives's Garianonum fairly considered; and Gough, i. 206. Camden's reasons for fixing Anderida at Newenden in Kent, are refuted at once by history itself. Anderida being a town of the Rhemi, who inhabited between the Cantii of Kent and the Belgæ of Hampshire (Richard, 18); and Ella, the founder of the South-Saxon kingdom, completing his conquest of Sussex by the reduction of Andredecester (Huntingdon, f. 179).

eye of fancy, a form that is all unsubstantial when you attempt to embrace it.

> Ter conatus ibi collo dare brachia circum,
> Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
> Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno *.

But let us attend to another feature, in the complexion of this false history. From the isle of Thanet the Saxons penetrated in time to North-Wales, and reached the banks of the Allen at last; but not till *many hundreds of years* after Germanus had visited the country. Yet Usher exhibits them in Flintshire during Germanus's visit, and not merely by themselves, but in company with PICTS also. This circumstance forms an additional note of spuriousness upon the narration, though Usher has entirely overlooked it. The Picts and the Scots, it is true, invaded the Roman half of Britain repeatedly, but never in union with the Saxons, and never in North-Wales. The Picts particularly, whom Usher has carried with the Saxons into that country, were even *more* unlikely than the *Scots* to enter it. "Britain," says Gildas, as I

* "*Maes Garmon*," says Mr. Pennant, "a spot that still retains the name of the saintly "commander, in the *celebrated* battle of the Victoria Alleluiatica, fought in 420," 420!!! "between the Britons, headed by the bishops Germanus and Lupus, and a *crowd* of pagan "Picts and Saxons, *who were carrying desolation through the country*." He then gives an account of the battle, which is true in itself, but all at variance with the ground: "It has "been objected by *cavillers*," he adds, "that the Saxons were not at that time possessed of "Britain," when no one ever objected they were not *possessed* of the country, because the whole story proves they were not; and the only objection has been, what indeed Mr. Pennant means to state, though he has been unfortunate in his language, that they had not yet *begun their reduction* of the isle. "That *may be admitted*," though it is expressly called a *cavil* before; "but the learned Usher *overthrows* the objection," though the objection "may be admitted," as we have been told just before, "by *rightly* observing, that those "people" were not indeed *possessed* of Britain, and thus *overthrows* the objection by *allowing* it, but "had long before made temporary invasions of our island, and committed great "ravages in *several* parts; and calls to witness Ammianus Marcellinus," who witnesses no such thing. "And to his authority I MAY ADD," what *Usher himself has expressly added*, "that the Romans found it necessary to have, in the *later* times, a new officer to watch "their motions, and repel their invasions, a *comes littoris Saxonici per Britannias*." (Tour in North-Wales, i. 437, 438.) Such are writers of travels, when they become critics in history! so honest to others, so just to truth, so dignified in themselves!

have

have cited him before, " being trampled down for the first time by two " transmarine nations outrageously cruel, by the *Scots* from the *north-* " *west*," that is, across the Clyde from Argyleshire, their original seat of residence in Britain ever since the year 320 ‖; " by the PICTS from " the *north*," that is, across the frith of Forth, from the regions of Caledonia beyond; the two nations thus evading the wall of Antoninus between the friths, by transporting themselves over the water of both, so breaking into the Roman province of Valentia, between that wall and Severus's, " lies for many years stunned and groaning." This shews us the nature of the Pictish and Scottish irruptions in a lively form. The Scots and Picts had an embarkation for the purpose; but then it was merely to float them over the two friths, to give them that access into the country which the more northerly wall prohibited, and to land them on the visible shore at the other side: they then overran the country up to the southerly wall, and ravaged all the present low-lands of Scotland, from Falkirk even to Berwick. They therefore penetrated not, either by land or by water, into North-Wales; and never came within *one hundred and fifty miles* from it: even if either of them *had* penetrated so far, these would not have been the Picts, but the Scots. The Picts invaded the country from the *north-east*, and the Scots from the *north-west*: the latter therefore must have been the enemy that would range along the road from Carlisle to Chester; while the former would range in a parallel direction, from Berwick towards York. Even if the Picts *had* turned in upon the course of the Scottish ravages, *had* given up their own course to the Scots, so *had* crossed obliquely from Edinborough to Carlisle and Chester, yet they did not, they could not, *act in union with the Saxons*. The Saxons indeed are all within another hemisphere, as it were; they are on the other, the eastern side of the island, and at the south-eastern angle of it; they must therefore be brought across the breadth of the whole, like the Picts; and across a breadth *as* oblique, but *much more* ample, than theirs, *before* the Picts and they can be united together, *before* we can accom-

‖ Hist. of Manchester, ii. 250, octavo.

modate

modate this particular narrative to the general history. The position of the universe must be altered before this Ptolemaic system can possibly be adopted; general history stands like the sun in the Copernican, the centre of gravitation to all the lesser orbs about it, and the grand regulator of all their movements.

But, as Gildas goes on still more explicitly to describe what he calls "the second devastation" of the Picts and Scots, "those former ene-"mies,—borne along with *the wings of oars*, by *the arms of rowers*, "and with *sails bellying in the wind*, break *through the borders*, kill all "before them, and mow down, trample upon, pass over, as ripe corn, "all that come in their way *." We thus see the Scots and Picts invading Roman Britain now, just as they invaded it before; crossing the friths with sails and oars, entering the country from the borders, and ravaging it up to Severus's wall again: we see them also still without any party of Saxons among them. Then they were "hastily driven "back *beyond the seas*" by some Roman auxiliaries sent to the Britons; and the more hastily, "because they greedily transported their annual "booty *across the seas* when they met with no resistance †." So clearly does Gildas continue to fix the Picts and Scots on the north of the friths, and to make the country immediately south of the friths the only scene of their ravages, while he gives a different and a distant scene to the descents of the *Saxons!* "The Romans," he says, only *alluding* to the Saxons, not specifying them, but plainly indicating them, "on the "*shore* of the ocean in *the southern clime*, where *their navy was kept*," meaning Richborough particularly, the grand port of their navy for Britain ‡, "and where they were apprehensive of the *wild beasts of*

* Gildas, c. xiii.: "Illi priores inimici—alis remorum, remigumque brachiis, ac velis "vento sinuatis, vecti, terminos rumpunt, cæduntque omnia, et quæque obvia, maturam "seu segetem, metunt, calcant, transeunt."

† Gildas, c. xiv.: "Auxiliatores egregii—prosperè trans maria fugaverunt, quia anni-"versarias avidè prædas, nullo obsistente, trans maria exaggerabant." I have supplied a clause in the text above, as necessary to connect the remark with the fact.

‡ Hist. of Manchester, ii. 509, quarto.

"*Barbary,*

"*Barbary*, fix towers at intervals for a survey of the sea §." Gildas thus places his towers, and thus points his apprehensions, on and at *the Saxon shore of Britain!*

But when he relates what he calls "the third devastation," and what he states as the last, "the black bands of Scots and Picts," he says, "emulously emerge from the *coracles*, in which they were borne across "*the vale of the sea*, and,—with more than usual confidence, seize from "the natives all *the northern and extreme part of the land*, up to *the* "*very wall* ‖:" even this they attack, this they storm, and pour into the country on the south. How far they went, and whether they met (if they ever met) with any Saxons, may seem not easy to be ascertained; I formerly supposed them to have pushed only through the bishopric of Durham into the county of York, yet two years afterward to have returned and penetrated into Lincolnshire ¶. But, as Gildas expressly asserts the Picts to have *never returned any more* *, I now see the necessity of reducing both these invasions into one; of dating them both as one in the year 448, the ascertained year of Germanus's death in Italy, the real year of Artius's third consulship too †, and of carrying *this* invasion as far to the south as Lincolnshire; then, in the very same year, accidentally came a party of the Saxons upon the coast, as we are told by Nennius, were invited to land as auxiliaries, and as auxiliaries engaged in battle with the invaders. This engagement both Gildas and Nennius have suppressed, in their natural dislike for men who proved

§ Gildas, c. xiv.: "In littore quoque oceani ad meridianam plagam, quà naves eorum "habebantur, et inde Barbaricæ feræ bestiæ timebantur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum "maris collocant."

‖ Gildas, c. xv.: "Emergunt certatim de curicis, quibus sunt trans Tithicam [Tethycam] "vallem vecti,—tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges,—et—solito confidentiùs omnem aqui- "lonalem extremamque terræ partem *pro* [read *ab*] indigenis muro-tenus capessunt."

¶ Hist. of Manchester, ii. 528, quarto.

* Gildas, c. xix.: "Picti in extremâ parte insulæ tunc primum, et deinceps, requie- "verunt."

† As Carte, i. 192, fixes the year, and as the death of St. German in 448 obliges all to fix it. Hist. of Manchester, therefore, in ii. 513, quarto, must stand corrected.

so perfidious afterwards, unjustly stifling the truth‡: but at a later period two Saxons, or two who in the predominance of the Saxons considered themselves as such, did them the justice which the Britons had denied. "The engagement being begun," says Bede, "with *the enemy* "*who had come from the north*, the *Saxons* gained the victory §."— "The *Saxons*," adds Huntingdon in that very spirit of Bede, which shews the Saxon prejudices operating equally as the British before, to the hurt of history, "entered into an engagement against the *Picts* and "*Scots*, who *had now come even to Stamford*, which is situated in the "southern part of Lincolnshire, distant from Lincoln forty miles; when "therefore *those*," the Saxons, "had fought with their javelins and "lances, and *these*," the Picts and Scots, "had very keenly contended "with their axes and broad-swords, the Picts [and Scots] could not "bear so strong a pressure upon them, but provided for their safety by "their flight: the *Saxons* triumph in victory, and enjoy the booty ‖." Thus do all these opposing historians unite together against their wills to make up that truth in one whole which they have respectively given in parts only; to shew both the Britons and Saxons employed in obtaining this victory, those as principals, these as auxiliaries! Such and so local was the battle, which exhibits to us the associated Picts and Scots

‡. Gildas, c. xviii. "De Victoriâ," says only, "dabant strages," and thus confines the victory to the *Britons*. Nennius suppresses all mention of the victory; yet Gildas says what plainly allows the Saxons were to fight for the Britons, telling us in c. xxiii. that a resolution was formed by the Britons concerning the Saxons, "in insulam *ad retrudendas* "*aquilonales gentes* intromitterentur;" adding, that the Saxon host accordingly landed "quasi *pro patriâ pugnaturus*, sed eam certiùs impugnaturus." Nennius also notices, that "ipsi *promiserunt expugnare inimicos ejus fortiter*;" and introduces the Britons, telling them, after the battle at Stamford undoubtedly, "recedite a nobis, *auxilio vestro* non indi-"gemus."

§ Bede, i. 15: "Inito—certamine cum hostibus qui ab aquilone ad aciem venerant, "victoriam sumpsêre Saxones."

‖ Huntingdon, f. 178: "Inierunt autem certamen contra Pictos et Scottos, qui jam "venerunt usque ad Stanfordiam, quæ sita est in australi parte Lincolniæ, distans ab eâ 40 "milliariis: cùm igitur illi pilis et lanceis pugnarent, isti verò securibus gladiisque longis "rigidissimè decertarent, nequiverunt Picti pondus tantum perferre, sed fugâ saluti suæ "consuluerunt; Saxones victoriosi triumpho et prædâ potiti sunt."

for

for the *last* time, but the *Saxons* with them for the *first*, in the Roman regions of Britain¶ !

The Picts then were united, *not* with *Saxons*, but with *Scots*, in their only three invasions of Roman Britain. In the first, when they broke into the country between the two walls, and retired into their own Caledonia unopposed, they had *Scots* with them, *but no Saxons*; in the second, when they broke into the same country again, but were beat back into Caledonia by the Romans, they had equally *no Saxons* with them, but only *Scots*; in the third and last, when they broke through both the walls, and even pushed as far to the south as Stamford in Lincolnshire; they had *Saxons* with them indeed, but had also *Scots*, and *Scots* as *associates*, but *Saxons* as *enemies*. There indeed was the one only engagement at which the *Picts* and the *Saxons* were ever united in battle with the *Britons*, when the *Saxons* and the *Picts*

¶ In Hist. of Man. ii. 537, 538, quarto, I have wrongly interpreted these words of Gildas, concerning the future pacificness of the Picts: "Picti in extremâ parte insulæ tunc "primùm, et deinceps, requieverunt, *prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes.*" The last clause I have interpreted as implying one more incursion into Britain, which I then believed to have been made, and therefore supposed to be meant here; but as I now see no such incursion to have been made, to be positively denied indeed by the first and second clause, I cannot interpret the last, in direct contradiction to them and to fact. That the Picts *then and afterwards* rested from incursions, is explicitly affirmed; and therefore the plunderings or harassings *sometimes* made by them afterwards, must be acts very consistent with the resting before; yet not acts merely of a private, a petty nature in their own country, as the mind is ready to suppose at first, but, as such a notice taken of them shews, acts of invasion and hostility upon one another; acts of plundering aggression committed by Picts upon Scots, and the very beginnings of that war between them, which ended finally in the total reduction of the Picts by the Scots. Thus Fergus, who began to reign about A.D. 503, half a century later than this irruption of Scots and Picts into Roman Britain (Innes, ii. 690, 691), but eighty years earlier than Gildas's writing (Hist. c. xxvi.), extended the kingdom of the Scots beyond its original limits in Argyleshire, within which it had been settled by a prior Fergus (Hist. of Man. ii. 250, 251, octavo), and carried it a good way into the country of the Picts (Innes, i. 87; ii. 665, 666, 669, 674). We thus allow for the two Fergus's that have so much divided the Scottish antiquaries (Innes, ii. 666); thus assign a pointed meaning to these hitherto unheeded words of Gildas; and thus fix historically the commencement of that war between the two nations, which then gave, which still gives, such a new aspect to the internal history of our whole island.

were actually *opposed to each other*, when the *Picts* were confederated with the *Scots*, and the *Saxons* were associated with the *Britons* against *both*.

So wild and so false, in every view that we can take of the subject, is Constantius's account of the Alleluiah victory! So requisite was it, even for Germanus's sake, to strip off the false and monstrous covering of hair with which ignorance and imposition have endeavoured to ornament his head, in order to shade his baldness, like Cæsar's, with a just and becoming crown of laurel! Constantius's story requires the highest degree of evidence to authenticate it, yet has not even the lowest; it is clogged with a vast variety of absurdities within; it is loaded with the greatest incredibilities without: it is at last reduced into a mass of historical impossibilities, each speaking loudly against itself, all uniting in one powerful acclaim against all. Thus is the narration finally found to be one of the most extraordinary fabrications that were ever imposed upon the historical world; projected with infinite confidence of falsehood at a time very near to the incidents, yet executed with little judiciousness of fraud, little knowledge of Britain, little regularity of ideas; triumphing, however, in its victory over the belief of man for no less than twelve hundred years together; but appearing, on a close examination, infinitely wild in itself, actually incredible in every part, and absolutely impossible in the whole.

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